

# HABERDASHERY FOR USE IN DRESS 1550-1800

POLLY HAMILTON BA (Hons)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the University of Wolverhampton  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

May 2007

This work or any part thereof has not previously been presented in any form to the University or to any other body whether for the purposes of assessment, publication or for any other purpose (unless otherwise indicated). Save for any express acknowledgments, references and/or bibliographies cited in the work, I confirm that the intellectual content of the work is the result of my own efforts and of no other person.

The right of Polly Hamilton to be identified as author of this work is asserted in accordance with ss.77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988. At this date copyright is owned by the author.

Signature.....

Date.....



# Contents

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	iii
<b>Abstract</b>	v
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	vi
<b>Introduction</b>	1
I. The necessity of haberdashery and its significance in dress	1
II. Haberdashery: general notes	8
III. Methodology: general notes	15
<b>Chapter 1. Historiography and Methodology</b>	23
Part 1. Historiography	23
Part 2. Methodology	50
The sources	52
Database specifications	56
<b>Chapter 2. Haberdashery Wares</b>	62
Part 1. Clothing trends and the influence of haberdashery	63
Part 2. Definition of haberdashery: the wares	66
Points and laces..p.71, Buttons..p.75, Spangles	92
Pins..p.94, Needles..p.98, Thread	99
<b>Chapter 3. Traders in Haberdashery Smallwares</b>	102
Primary source (documentary) evidence	102
Focus counties	107
Traders of haberdashery	119
Haberdashery traders through their inventories	136
<b>Chapter 4. Analysis of Inventories</b>	146
Focus Counties:	
Cumbria and Westmorland	147
Lancashire	160
Warwickshire and Leicestershire	169
Hampshire and West Sussex	190
London	213
<b>Chapter 5. Analysis of Newspapers, Trade cards, Wills, and Diaries</b>	223
Newspapers	223
Trade cards	231
Wills	238
Diaries and account books	242
<b>Conclusion</b>	263
<b>Abbreviations</b>	289

<b>Glossary</b>	290
<b>Appendices</b>	
1. Dress before the Early Modern Period	325
2. Classification of Buttons from Inventories	332
3. Mary Medhurst, Shop Goods, 1762-1764	333
4. Traders in the Inventory Sample	334
5. Accounts of Miss Grainger, 1778-87	335
6. Trade Card Example	336
7. References: Diaries, Wills, Newspapers, Databases	337
8. Traders Inventories. Lists and references	339
Cumbria	339
Lancashire	340
Warwickshire	341
Leicestershire	342
Hampshire	343
West Sussex	344
London	345
9. Table of Apprentice Bindings	346
<b>Illustrations</b>	347
<b>Bibliography</b>	358
<b>Costume Collections and Art Galleries: References and Acknowledgements</b>	391

# List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book, 1521-1601 NAL/V&A 147.B.63
- Fig. 2. Laces for fastening over buttons at doublet neck. V&A, 170-69
- Fig. 3. Fine cords, tasselled handkerchief and silver looped ribbons worn by Elizabeth Howard, Lady Banbury, c.1619. by Daniel Mytens
- Fig. 4. Anon. Instructions for Making Purse Strings, 1640, NAL/V&A 86.FF.3.
- Fig. 5. Decorative points on male clothing. John Granville 1676, by John Michael Wright
- Fig. 6. Seventeenth century silk covered buttons with silk braid, made over a wooden mould. Victoria and Albert Museum
- Fig. 7. Man's embroidered coat with 19 embroidered flower-pattern buttons. Chilcombe House 1972.360
- Fig. 8. Faceted glass decoration on man's corded velvet coat. Eighteenth century. Gunnersbury Museum, 74.44/IL
- Fig. 9. Breeches button, stitched over wooden mould. c.1740. Bath Museum of Costume
- Fig. 10. Basket weave silver thread buttons on man's waistcoat. Killerton House, KIL/W/3605A
- Fig. 11. Decorated glove gauntlet, late sixteenth century. Note the tiny size of these early spangles. Bath Costume Museum, Spence Glove Collection, Ref. 23352
- Fig. 12. Domed spangles, together with flat spangles and faceted glass decoration, 1780s. Bath Museum of Costume.
- Fig. 13. Man's cream silk coat with embroidery and pressed silk 'spangles'. Killerton House KIL/W/03782
- Fig. 14. Man's velvet coat with pressed silk domes. Victoria and Albert Costume Collection
- Fig. 15. Skirt embroidered with seventeenth-century patterns. Dating unclear. Bath Museum of Costume.
- Fig. 16. Man's linen shirt embroidered with red silk and having bobbin lace edgings. 1615-25. Warwick Museum H6300
- Fig. 17. Woman's coif embroidered with silk fish, having spangle eyes. Metallic braid edge decoration and embroidered loops at front. Lined earflaps. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon.
- Fig. 18. Man's shoe. Fabric with stitched braid, edged with tape. Eighteenth century. Warwick Museum H.12222
- Fig. 19. Silver thread embroidery on knitted silk stockings. Late seventeenth century. Killerton House KIL/W/05349
- Fig. 20. Fringing with coloured floss silk tassels, c.1770-1780. Used extensively on a gown and stomacher. Chilcomb House, Winchester. C1976. 31/309/1-4
- Fig. 21. Knitted silk stockings, mid-eighteenth century. Bath Museum of Costume. 1720-50
- Fig. 22. Shoes with matching pattens. Brocade with tape edge binding. c.1720. Killerton House KIL/W/04241
- Fig. 23. Lindfield Account and Letterbook, 1621 WSRO 18.007



# Abstract

This study investigates the supply, distribution and use of haberdashery wares in England in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with especial reference to the paired counties of Cumbria and Lancashire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, Hampshire and West Sussex. A brief comparison is also made with London. Through examination of documentary evidence and extant examples, it aims to set the provision and use of haberdashery for dress into the context of the Early Modern period, and challenges widely held assumptions concerning the availability of wares through the country.

The purpose of the argument is firstly to demonstrate that haberdashery, being both a necessity and a luxury, was an important, and historically traceable, part of traded goods in the early modern period, and secondly, with particular reference to the response of retailers to changing needs and demands, to show that the widescale availability of haberdashery for use in dress made it significant in the expression of personal identity and appearance for individuals of all social strata, while its manufacture and distribution provided employment for considerable numbers of people.

# Acknowledgements

Over the several years of this project I have received assistance and encouragement from a veritable army of people, to all of whom I offer my sincere thanks.

Help has been freely dispensed by a considerable number of Record Office archivists in: Birmingham, Carlisle, Chester, Chichester, Exeter, Lancaster, Leicester, Lichfield, Newport (I.O.W.), Preston, Shrewsbury, Warwick, Winchester, Worcester, and in London at the PRO in Chancery Lane and Kew, the London Record Office, Guildhall, and several departments at the British Museum. For access to additional archive material my thanks to the administrator of Petworth House, Sussex, and to the archivist of the National Trust Southern Area, Polesden Lacy, Surrey (Tracey Avery). I am particularly appreciative of the number of occasions on which I was permitted to photograph documents.

I have been welcomed and assisted by Keepers of Costume in, Bath Costume Museum (Rosemary Hurden); Blaise Castle House, Bristol, (Linda Coode); Chilcombe House, Winchester, (Alison Carter); Gunnersbury Park Museum, (Sarah Levitt); Hampton Court Textile Conservation Department, (Jenny Band); Hartlebury: Hereford and Worcester County Museum; Killerton Manor, Broadclyst, Exeter, (Atherton Harrison and Elizabeth); The Museum of London (Kay Staniland); Macclesfield Silk Museum; Osterley Park; Platt Hall, Manchester, (Mrs. P. Jarvis); Red House, Christchurch; Costume Collection, St. John's House Warwick; Textile and Dress Department, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Claire Browne and Miss A. Hart). Thanks to the many who so kindly and enthusiastically assisted with the photography of their precious and fragile examples.

I am pleased to acknowledge the help I have received from librarians at the following Libraries: Bath Costume Reference Library, Birmingham Library, British Library, Glasgow University Library, Ironbridge Museum Library, National Art Library at the V&A London, Westminster Abbey Library, and Wolverhampton University Library.



My initial researches were helped by Dr. Ian Archer of Downing College, Cambridge, and Helen Bradley, Archivist at Haberdashers Hall, London, and I have been greatly informed by discussions with curators of the following Art Galleries: The National Portrait Gallery, The National Gallery, The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, and The Tate Gallery. At the Witt Computer Library, my thanks to Dr. Cathy Gordon, and Matthew Imms.

I am particularly grateful to Negley Harte, and the Pasold Research Fund for the contribution to the project at its inception; together with two twentieth century haberdashery companies for their sponsorship: Olney Amsden, and Selectus.

I thank the Board of the University of Wolverhampton for their patience and understanding through various personal crises over a number of years, for financial assistance, and for the opportunity to work on this absorbing subject. I thank my husband Alexander Hamilton for his continuing support. My greatest debt of gratitude is to my supervisors: David Greysmith, M.Phil., former Senior Lecturer in History & Theory of Art and Design, Wolverhampton University; John Styles, Head of the V&A/RCA MA Course in the History of Design, and in particular Dr. Nancy Cox, Honorary Research Fellow and Academic Editor, Wolverhampton Dictionary Project, for her enthusiastic tuition, constant encouragement and sustained interest. All mistakes are entirely my own.



# **Haberdashery for use in dress**

## **1550-1800**

### **Introduction**

#### **I**

#### **The necessity of haberdashery and its significance in dress**

In the Western world the body clothed has long been accepted as a normal and preferable state, and from the cradle to the grave, dress is of major importance. The history of clothing is inextricably linked to the history of humankind, indeed as Claire Wilcox so aptly wrote, ‘Clothes are shorthand for being human.’<sup>1</sup> Since textile garments were first made and shaped to fit, haberdashery wares were employed in their construction and present in dress at all levels of society. It can be postulated that the examination of haberdashery as an essential component of clothing allows consideration of the one element that exists in all types of garments throughout the period in question, irrespective of rank or style.

Evidence that dress styles changed through time can be found where ever people are depicted on surviving artefacts from successive centuries, yet when addressing the issues of consumption through consideration of innovations and increases in material goods, historians of the early modern period have been inclined to focus on the more overt and imposing developments. The areas of ceramics and metalwork, for example, with their more tangible and documented developments have been thoroughly studied, analysed, and annexed to a range of technological and social issues. Personal possessions have long been acknowledged as providing evidence of contemporary mores, production, consumption and economic trends, yet the area of

---

<sup>1</sup> Wilcox, Claire, ‘I Try Not to Fear Radical Things’, in Wilcox, C., (ed.) *Radical Fashion*, (London: 2001), p.1.

clothing with its integral haberdashery element, has been mainly overlooked as a contender for serious socio-economic study.<sup>2</sup>

Fernand Braudel said of the history of costume, 'It touches on every issue - raw materials, production processes, manufacturing costs, cultural stability, fashion and social hierarchy. Subject to incessant change, costume everywhere is a persistent reminder of social position.'<sup>3</sup> Through the little details, Braudel says, a society stands revealed. Early modern period clothes were a symbol of substance, imbued with significance and value far beyond their intrinsic worth, and items of haberdashery – the 'little details' of clothing - contributed with increasing frequency and meaning to the overall effect as the techniques of manufacture developed.

Every garment has a public and a private face and haberdashery is used for both the necessity and the image - the manufacture and the appearance.<sup>4</sup> In one sense however, it is designed for integration with its fabric 'host' and in essence, when correctly employed, it becomes invisible. The threads and bindings of construction are, and were, generally concealed; decorative wares were aimed to draw attention not so much to themselves as to the whole ensemble, and so to enhance the status of the wearer

These semi-obsured wares of haberdashery have been subject to the same slights as the history of dress - marginalized by mainstream historic research and perceived by historians as being of negligible importance. Integral to a subject that has only recently been accepted as academically legitimate, a history of haberdashery has yet to be constructed. The question I ask therefore is, can the availability of haberdashery

---

<sup>2</sup> For studies of very different commodities see Hatcher, John and C. Barker (1974), *A history of British pewter*, (London and New York: 1974); Spufford, Margaret (1981), *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth century England*, (Cambridge: 1985); and for an assessment of early modern social development through interpretations of personal possessions recorded in probate inventories, ceramic ware in particular, Weatherill, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, (London: 1988).

<sup>3</sup> Braudel, F., 'The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible', *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> Century*. Vol.I. English Translation, (London: 1988), pp.311 and 29.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 2., p.66 for discussion and definition of haberdashery items.

be shown to be an important factor in the significance of dress in the early modern period?

## The Significance of Dress

The cultural significance of dress has long been understood, as Lou Taylor points out when quoting the phrase used in 1586 by Sigismund Feyerabendt, who described dress as being ‘a silent index of ...character.’<sup>5</sup> The development of dress has been identified as a signifier of changes in society through the centuries, and as both a result and a cause of such changes. Eileen Ribeiro observes,

Dress has always been one of the most sensitive barometers of the sensitivities and attitudes of a period; not only does it reflect the dominant mood of society, but in some cases it can appear even to anticipate abrupt and revolutionary changes.<sup>6</sup>

On the small scale, clothing has been represented as a manuscript for the presentation of personal statements and aspirations, and on a grand scale as the canvas for the portrayal of an era. Items of attire can become extensions of self, or be tangible evocations of other people. They can be objects of affection or loathing; symbols of a difficult or a pleasant time; metaphor for a class, a social group, or an occupation. The English language has been enriched with hundreds of clothing-connected words, often adapted from other languages, and many have subsequently become part of everyday speech outside the context of dress.<sup>7</sup>

In the following seventeenth-century poem, written by Margaret Cavendish, (1623-73), dress is used as a metaphor for the body, and the body for the dress, blurring the boundaries of the intimate relationship between the wearer and the worn.

---

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, L., *Establishing Dress History*, (Manchester: 2004), p.4.

<sup>6</sup> Ribeiro, A., *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789*, (New Haven and London: 2002), p.10.

<sup>7</sup> For example: [a] In dress. The primary sense of the word *habit* is given by the OED in the area of clothing, and dated as Medieval English. Other uses of the word meaning: behaviour, disposition, characteristic mode of growth, and so on, have similar or later dates. [b] In haberdashery. Pins, small haberdashery items, additionally became part of the colloquial language of metaphor and allusion: not worth a pin; pin money; having ‘pins and needles’ in a numb limb. Also in metaphoric use, such as ‘talking through your hat’, ‘hard to pin down’, ‘losing the thread of the argument.’

## A Woman Dressed By Age

A milk-white hair-lace wound up all her hairs;  
And a deaf coif did cover both her ears.  
A sober look about her face she ties,  
And a dim sight doth cover half her eyes.  
About her neck, a kercher of coarse skin,  
Which time had crumpled, and worn creases in.  
Her gown was turned to melancholy black,  
Which loose did hang upon her sides and back.  
Her stockings cramps had knit, red worsted gout;  
And pains, as garters, tied her legs about.  
A pair of palsy-gloves her hands did cover,  
With weakness stitched, and numbness trimmed all over.  
Her shoes were corns and hard skin sewed together;  
Hard skin was soles, and corns the upper leather.  
A mantle of diseases laps her round;  
And thus she's dressed, till Death her lays i' th' ground.<sup>8</sup>

Images of power and superiority have always depended heavily on the portrayal of clothing; how else to differentiate between a king and a pauper? Early tomb carvings and grave slabs showed simple effigies of the deceased with garments and accoutrements emblematic of status and authority.<sup>9</sup> Manuscript illustrations recorded people whose attire formed a significant part of their identity.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, in Bolam, R., and M. Lomax, (eds), *Eliza's Babes: Four Centuries of Women's Poetry in English, c1500-1900*, (London: 2005).

<sup>9</sup> For example, the carved Pictish stone in Glamis, traditionally known as a memorial to Malcolm II, is thought to be at least eleventh century, possibly earlier. Among other images are those of two bearded men confronting each other with axes. Both are shown wearing sewn, thigh length tunics. Pictish Cross-slab, Glamis stone No.2, Glamis parish, Angus, Scotland. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland: NMRS No. NO34NE2, Map Ref NO3858 4686.

<sup>10</sup> For example, the eighth century Kentish Vespasian Psalter illustration of King David, 'composer' of the Psalms, and his musicians. The two dancers wear simple sleeved and belted calf length garments; the two percussion players have longer, sleeved robes with the tops pleated into belts; while the four horn players have lightweight, semi-transparent under gowns with sleeves, and an upper body covering formed of a length of material draped round the body with a long end hanging off one shoulder, in the style of a Scottish plaid. King David has a red (therefore expensive) undergarment with a straight neckband and front pleat

From the fourteenth century costly monumental brasses and tomb effigies bore witness, through both depiction and material value, to the growing prosperity of the merchants, along with the ecclesiastics, the doctors of law and the arts, and their ladies.<sup>11</sup> By the mid-sixteenth century, the starting point of this study, images of the wealthy show additional outlay, with the already sumptuous fabrics depicted as being further enriched by the addition of haberdashery wares: braids and laces, embroidery and precious stones.

Conversely, where more humble people were recorded in manuscript illustrations or on very rare occasions in monumental brasses, their symbols of status were their trade implements – a tailor with his shears, a huntsman with a horn, a notary with pen horn and pen case.<sup>12</sup> It is noticeable that, whether through accurate observation and representation or conventional symbolism, their clothing was mostly portrayed as unremarkable and unornamented. This is also evident in the costume studies of the herald Randle Holme III, in which his somewhat crude illustrations of occupational costumes show a basic buttoned doublet and breeches outfit worn by most of the depicted men.<sup>13</sup>

However, be it through images on coins, on manuscripts, on graves, brasses, paintings, tapestries or frescoes, status - high or lowly - was understood through dress.

## Dress history

In her seminal work *The Great Reclothing of Rural England* Margaret Spufford noted that at a 1980 European conference on the use of probate inventories, it was agreed that of the four basic needs of the human species ‘for procreation, nutrition, shelter and clothing, historical research has concentrated only on procreation and nutrition,

---

or decoration, and a full over-robe of royal purple with additional falls of fabric. The clothing clearly demonstrates the relative status of the participants. British Library, Cotton Vespasian, AI, ff.30v-31.

<sup>11</sup> See those of the Paycocke family of Coggeshall in Power, E., *Medieval People*, (London: 1999), p.191.

<sup>12</sup> Power, E., *Medieval People*, (London: 1999), p.191.

<sup>13</sup> See Alcock, N.W., and N. Cox, *Living and Working in Seventeenth-Century England: Descriptions and Drawings from Randle Holme’s Academy of Armory*, (London: 2000).

while shelter and clothing have gone relatively unexplored.’ Although shelter, she comments wryly, has at least received some attention from the vernacular architecture specialists.<sup>14</sup>

Centuries of historical convention placed the study of dress history beyond the boundaries of what dress historian Lou Taylor terms ‘academic respectability.’<sup>15</sup> The history of clothing was ranked as ‘folk’ study, a ‘women’s pastime,’ and the victim of what Sir Roy Strong described as ‘tawdry scholarship by the stage-struck.’<sup>16</sup> The methodology of earlier costume historians involved concentrating on the dress of the court or polite society, fuelling the impression that costume study consisted of fancy dress and fashion; too trivial and ephemeral to be acknowledged by the male dominated academic world as a worthy vehicle for serious research. Despite the fact that the deconstructed or altered garment can demonstrate social and cultural insights unavailable from any other source,<sup>17</sup> such artefacts, being of a delicate and fugitive nature, were seen as problematic, easily corrupted, too biased for reliability.

In the past thirty years or so academic historians have gradually come to acknowledge the history of dress as a legitimate study with a considerable contribution to make to our interpretation of material culture. In 1975 Stella Mary Newton stated her belief that fashion history lagged so far behind other branches of art history it was ‘unlikely to catch up,’<sup>18</sup> but in the following year economic historian Negley Harte, was one of the first to challenge the established attitudes stating:

...the demand for clothing has taken second place only to the demand for food as a fundamental factor in the economy of [Europe] for many centuries...The production, the distribution and the consumption of textiles cannot therefore be ignored by any serious economic and social historian of Europe.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Spufford, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century*, History Series Vol. 33 (London: 1984), p. 105.

<sup>15</sup> Taylor, L., *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), p.1.

<sup>16</sup> Strong, Sir Roy, ‘Introduction’ in N. Rothstein (ed.), *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, (London: revised edition, 1984), p.ii.

<sup>17</sup> Arnold, J., ‘A Court Mantua of c.1760-5’, *Costume*, Volume 7, (1973), pp. 42-46.

<sup>18</sup> Newton, S. M., ‘Fashions in Fashion History’, *Times Literary Supplement*, March 21, 1975.

<sup>19</sup> Harte, N.B., book review in *Textile History*, 7, (1976), p.198.



Although eight years later, following the publication of McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb's book *The Birth of A Consumer Society*<sup>20</sup>, there had been some moves towards integrating costume and textile histories into mainstream socio-economic history, Natalie Rothstein was very disappointed by contributors to the section dealing with the history of consumption at the International Economic History Congress:

There seemed to be a tendency to devise economic theories and then look for supporting evidence...Speaker after speaker quoted figures and jargon without any attempt to give them reality.<sup>21</sup>

In 1984 Sir Roy Strong commented in his foreword to Rothstein's *Four Hundred Years of Fashion* that, 'only in the last two decades has the history of dress begun to take on definable academic standards and parameters,'<sup>22</sup> while Taylor, writing in 2002, believes that it is only as recently as the last ten years that 'the field of dress history has finally broken free of the shackles that have held it back for far too long.' Following the groundbreaking study *Consumption and the World of Goods*, she writes, '...the barriers were broken. From the early 1990s new interdisciplinary methodologies were developed by both male and female researchers using ethnographic, material culture and consumption-based approaches.'<sup>23</sup> As summarised by Christopher Breward, acceptance came firstly from within the discipline of art history, with its emphasis on chronologically ordering change and style; later from the design and economic history approaches; and developing alongside this were the related disciplines of cultural studies and media studies.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> McKendrick, N., Brewer, J., and Plumb, J.H., *The Birth of A Consumer Society*, (London: 1982).

<sup>21</sup> Rothstein, N., conference report in *Textile History*, 14 /2 (1983), pp.223-226, p.226.

<sup>22</sup> Rothstein, N. (ed.), *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, (London: 1984), foreword.

<sup>23</sup> Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), p.70.

<sup>24</sup> Breward, C., *The Culture of Fashion: A new history of fashionable dress*, (Manchester: 1995), pp. 1-3.

## II

### Haberdashery: general notes

Josephine Miller's statement regarding the study of dress can equally be applied to haberdashery:

This is a multi-faceted subject and in some ways can be seen to relate to almost every area of design and many aspects of the fine arts. It needs to be placed firmly within a cultural context, against a background of technological and industrial change, literary and aesthetic ideas....the marketing and retail outlets, together with developments in advertising and publishing techniques...[bring] a new set of considerations with them.<sup>25</sup>

Even with the growing interest in the wider, cultural aspects of dress history, the smaller, apparently inconsequential wares that can be gathered under the general heading of 'haberdashery' have remained virtually invisible despite, or perhaps because of, their indispensable and unquestioned daily use. Indeed it is not an exaggeration to claim that in one form or another haberdashery goods touched the lives of all and sundry. These items too were undergoing changes in production and accessibility throughout the early modern period, and reaching as wide, if not wider, markets as some of the larger scale, more expensive merchandise. Yet although individual studies of component parts exist,<sup>26</sup> the subject of haberdashery and its availability, taken as a whole, is under-investigated.

Despite the recent blossoming of the new academic field that is dress history, with its specific ability to examine social, economic and cultural shifts, Taylor, when assessing the current condition and future directions of dress history, cites some of the problems that still can beset its study:

---

<sup>25</sup> Miller, J., 'The Study of Dress and Textiles' in H. Conway, (ed.), *Design History – a students' handbook*, (London: 1987), p.15.

<sup>26</sup> For example Epstein, D., and M. Safro, *Buttons*, (London: 1991). Longman, E.D. and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions*, (London: 1911). The subject of lace (as opposed to *laces*) has been extensively researched by a number of specialists in the field, but I do not include it as a haberdashery item since much of it could be classified more readily into the category of fabric or of ready-made items of clothing, such as collars or cuffs.

Obsessive collectors with a profound knowledge of one artefact may take no interest in examining the social and cultural forces from which these objects grew. An economic historian investigating the export of nineteenth-century British cotton prints may not be able to date their design or even have considered the issue of their design to be of any relevance. A researcher whose eye is fixed on the cultural ‘meanings’ of clothes may well take no interest in learning the detailed style and manufacturing minutiae of the garments. In reverse, the meanings of clothing s/he cares for may well never be considered by an object-based specialist.<sup>27</sup>

This criticism of historians of dress can equally be extended to include those who ignore the very elements that construct and inform the garments in which they are interested. It is perhaps understandable that academic historians might fail to comprehend the minutiae of garment construction, while dress historians, whose artefact-based training concentrates on the practical matters of fabric, cut, and construction, may be less interested in national economic implications. But both sides must surely appreciate the value of haberdashery to their specialist interest – academic historians and economists with the documentary evidence of manufacture, supply, and the labour force; costume historians with the essential elements of making, fastening and decorating – and how its interpretation can help define and explain historical and contemporary issues.

Christopher Breward goes some way towards defining some of the challenges inherent in attempting a study of haberdashery when discussing the shortcomings of traditional costume history. He criticises as ‘problematic and reductionist’ the system of enquiry advanced by Crowfoot, Pritchard and Staniland,<sup>28</sup> which, he feels, risks only forming a ‘fragmentary’ history by attempting,

to make an objective analysis of architectural ‘fragments’ without placing them both in the wider context of contemporary interpretation, and in the shifting processes of reinterpretation that take place over time and space.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), p.2.

<sup>28</sup> For whom the tiny fragments of medieval clothing found in Thames river mud represent ‘The most reliable evidence for medieval cut and construction.’ Crowfoot, E., F.Pritchard and K.Staniland, *Medieval finds from excavations in London, c.1150-1450: 4, Textiles and Clothing*, (London: 1992).

<sup>29</sup> Breward, C., *The Culture of Fashion*, (Manchester: 1995), p.12.

Breward acknowledges the problems of bias when using 'sources based on secondary interpretation.' This, he believes may result in 'constructing a history of dress based on exaggeration and outrage.' His example, from the medieval period, shows both monastic antipathy towards the young and fashionably dressed, and Chaucerian comic-effect literary caricature, in the absence of any other evidence, giving a potentially distorted view of clothing.<sup>30</sup>

Breward suggests that the most useful approach to source material 'is to use combinations of evidence which support, rather than contradict, the widest possible reading of historical material culture.'<sup>31</sup> When discussing contemporary visual representations, and agreeing with Zylstra-Zweens<sup>32</sup> that the interpretation of the subtext in an artist's work can be a revealing source in itself, he quotes from the work of Arjun Appadurai who has written, 'even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things in motion that illuminate their social and human context,' and Breward concludes that 'it is the task of the historian to combine both skills in studying sources for a history of ... dress.'<sup>33</sup>

A combination of evidence would also appear to be the most suitable approach when trying to set the multifaceted subject of haberdashery into the context of early modern society. Lou Taylor believes that,

From the 1980s a new generation of researchers and enthusiasts has discovered the value of the study of dress as an analytical research tool, coming from social and economic history, material culture, cultural and gender studies, art history, anthropology and sociology. Their research has opened up dress history and dress studies most positively, through their new multi-disciplinary approaches.<sup>34</sup>

It is through the under-researched subject of haberdashery and its availability that this study will make a contribution to knowledge in the areas of dress and retailing.

---

<sup>30</sup> Breward, C., *The Culture of Fashion*, (Manchester: 1995), p.9.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, pp.10-11.

<sup>32</sup> Zylstra-Zweens, H.M, *Of his array telle I no lenger tale: Aspects of costume, arms and armour in Western Europe 1200-1400*, (Amsterdam: 1988), pp 7-8.

<sup>33</sup> Breward, C., *op cit*, p.13.

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, L., *Establishing Dress History*, (Manchester: 2004), p.311.

## Production and Retail of Haberdashery

The debate on consumption and retailing has also been undergoing change and development in the past thirty or forty years, and more recently interest in the relationship between retailers, consumers and their purchases as indicators of more than just their social standing, has come to the fore. The term ‘consumer revolution,’ initially used with reference to an upsurge in supply and availability of goods to a wider public in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, has been appropriated by those who see the so called revolution as having earlier origins. For some, the many new goods, the clothing, furnishings, and household possessions, that came within the reach of the income of an increasing ‘middling sort’ indicates the eighteenth century as the point of change.<sup>35</sup> Others, such as Joan Thirsk, look yet further back.<sup>36</sup>

One example can demonstrate the importance of the production and retail of haberdashery in the economic flux of the country during the first part of the early modern period: the ‘projects’ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to produce goods at home primarily for the domestic market. Sir Thomas Smith, in his 1549 publication *Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, discussed the condition of the economy during a period of financial crisis. He saw England as a producer and exporter of basic durable goods, and an importer of goods not made, or not made in sufficient quantity, in England. He strongly condemned the import of a long list of items from luxuries to fripperies, which included ‘haberdashers’ wares that might be ‘clean spared’ ‘...pins, needles,..hats, caps, brooches, aglets, silk and silver buttons, laces, points, perfumed gloves,...’<sup>37</sup> His denunciation, which coincidentally demonstrates the increasing desirability and availability of ‘luxury’ wares, continued:

---

<sup>35</sup> ‘...the growth of fixed shop retailing, as well as many of the innovations currently attributed to early or mid-Victoria entrepreneurs, had their inception in the eighteenth century.’ Mui, H. and Mui, L.H., *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, (London: 1989), p.7.

<sup>36</sup> ‘...the projects that were being promoted from the 1540s onwards were in large part responsible for fostering the consumer society.’ Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: 1978), p.108.

<sup>37</sup> Smith, T., *Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, quoted in J. Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 14-15.

I have seen within these twenty years, when there were not of these haberdashers that sell French or Milan caps, glasses, daggers, swords, girdles, and such things not a dozen in all London. And now, from the Tower to Westminster along, every street is full of them. And their shops glisters and shine of glasses, as well looking as drinking, yea, all manner [of] vessels of the same stuff; painted cruses, gay daggers, knives swords and girdles, that is able to make any temperate man to gaze on them, and to buy somewhat, though it serve no purpose necessary...What grossness be we of, that see it, and suffer such a continual spoil to be made of our goods and treasures by such means?<sup>38</sup>

All this ire, Thirsk notes, was because these frippery things were made from materials cheaply bought in their country of origin, and cost their producers almost nothing but their labour.<sup>39</sup> Not only that, but the desire for such items, spreading from London to the provinces was causing the country people to spurn the locally made goods available in the market towns, to the detriment of those towns, in order to buy the imported wares in London. The solution, according not only to Smith but to many intellectuals, politicians and preachers who called themselves Commonwealthmen, was to promote the production of the wares at home by those who had little or no other source of income, but were instead a drain on the nation's resources. Smith argued that if such goods were so desirable to a growing population that now had a little spare money,

...twenty thousand persons might be set awork within this realm...not only sufficient to set so many awork and serve the realm but also to serve other parts, as all kinds of cloth...knit sleeves, hosen, and petticoats, hats, caps... gloves, points, girdles...<sup>40</sup>

The projects to employ the poor began in the 1540s, partly by reconstituting failing trades, for example thread making in Coventry, partly by encouraging new trades, sometimes by bringing in foreign expertise such as Dutch weavers. Haberdashery trades such as stocking knitting, button and pin making were successful in providing paid work for many people and reversing the economic decline of several towns. Long-lasting benefits were conferred on the worsted-producing town of Norwich, for example, where lace making, stocking knitting and ribbon weaving all became

---

<sup>38</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford, 1978), quoting T. Smith, *Discourse*, p.15.

<sup>39</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 14-15.

<sup>40</sup> Thirsk, J., *op cit*, quoting T. Smith, *Discourse*, pp.16-17.

additional thriving occupations. The linen thread manufacture in Maidstone also flourished since, as Thirsk points out, 'not a single family in the kingdom could dispense entirely with thread which was needed in considerable quantity for sewing all domestic and personal linen goods.'<sup>41</sup>

The success of the projects filtered through to the national economy, once the cottagers and labourers, or their wives and children, began to produce small wares that could be sold, providing a little surplus money.

...such commodities might be toys, buttons, pins, or lace, items which the politicians labelled as frivolities, as indeed they were. But the truth is that they were the source of that extra cash which made all the difference between a precarious existence and a modicum of comfort.<sup>42</sup>

Comparing the goods available by the later seventeenth century against the first half of the sixteenth century, Thirsk notes the considerable increase of items for personal wear:

The shops were stocked with 11 or 12 different kinds of thread, with lace, fine and coarse, in several different colours, tape, ribbon, inkle – the range of haberdashery was quite as varied as anything in a large drapery store today.<sup>43</sup>

It can be seen that a growing desire for imported small objects of haberdashery, and an increased ability to purchase them, were influential in the formation of a policy to benefit the country by employing the poor, decreasing imports, and satisfying the wants of consumers. Thirsk goes so far as to claim that, 'The goods which came on to the market in greater quantity than ever before as a result of the projects promoted the growth of a consumer society.'<sup>44</sup> There can be no doubt that the consequence was a corresponding increase in accessibility of small wares through itinerant salesmen, market stalls or fixed shops.

---

<sup>41</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford, 1978), p.48.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, pp.7-8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, p.106.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, p.106.

## This Study

Writing of the eighteenth century Maxine Berg points out that,

Despite the intense historical and literary investigation of aspects of eighteenth-century consumer culture over recent decades we still have incorporated into our wider histories very little about the products people were buying....Actual products, what they were, how they were designed and made, what they were used for, get lost in this dichotomy between the cultural and the economic...We need a history of those new consumer goods that inspired fashion desire.<sup>45</sup>

Berg's call for a closer examination of the actual products of the eighteenth century can be extended to include the previous century and a half, during which the foundations were laid for what she refers to as the 'turning point in the rise of consumer society.'<sup>46</sup> Haberdashery is undoubtedly one of the items that can be classed among those products that inspired fashion desire and about which so little has been written.

Answering questions of availability through retail outlets, by means of an amalgamation of source material previously little used in this context, I will look at haberdashery as a substantial retail entity comprised of many strands which, until now, has been lamentably under-employed as a historical resource. The purpose of my argument is twofold: firstly to demonstrate that haberdashery, being both a necessity and a luxury, was an important, and historically traceable, part of traded goods in the early modern period. Secondly, with particular reference to the response of retailers to changing needs and demands, I will be looking at the manufacture and distribution of wares, which provided employment for considerable numbers of people. I will also examine how the availability of haberdashery for utilisation by people of all social strata made it significant in the expression of personal identity and image. This study will therefore contribute to the ongoing debate concerning consumption in the early modern period.

---

<sup>45</sup> Berg, M., *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: 2005), p.13.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p.12.



### III

## Methodology: general notes

### Time and Place

The selection of sources from which data will be drawn (detailed fully in Chapter 1. 2) is aimed to be far reaching, both in time and place. This study was designed to contribute to The Dictionary Project, a research initiative on the part of the University of Wolverhampton, inaugurated some ten years ago to seek a fuller understanding of traded goods, their nature and meaning. The project is intended for publication as *The Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1559-1800*. The Wolverhampton University Gloucester Port Books Programme<sup>47</sup> identified 3,000 terms for labelling and describing traded goods dating from the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, while consultation and analysis of other primary sources has resulted in a further 7,000 more terms. The digital archive of these sources on early-modern trade will form part of the published *Dictionary Package*, together with definitions and about 10,000 articles on individual commodities, on production techniques, and on concepts relevant to the early modern internal trade and consumption.<sup>48</sup>

The dates for this study were thus already defined, having been chosen to provide a broad overview of the developments of the early modern period through detailed contextual evaluation of a wide range of accessible contemporary documentation. The decision to focus principally on certain representative counties was shared by the Dictionary Project and this study, with some slight differences of county in the section dealing with the Midlands.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Cox, N.C., D.P. Hussey and G.J. Milne (eds), *The Gloucester Port Books on CD-ROM*, and the *Guide and Tutorial*, (Marlborough: 1998).

<sup>48</sup> For details and further information see: [www.wlv.ac.uk/tradedictionary/about.htm](http://www.wlv.ac.uk/tradedictionary/about.htm)

<sup>49</sup> This study includes the counties of Leicester and Hampshire.

The choice of regions for source material will be discussed in Chapter 1.2, but mention should be made here of some of the boundaries and limits of the study. For the most part, at least as it was originally planned, *The Dictionary* aimed to deal with England and her trades, and the evidence being used was from English sources. Later development has reshaped policy a little, to account for and identify imported wares, but not to pursue their production, and to explain certain changes in English merchandise and attitudes. This study, however, concentrates on English goods and imported wares, but even though aware of the influence exerted by other countries – primarily Europe and America – it was felt that looking abroad at production and export would extend further an already complex investigation.

## Sources

From the beginning it was acknowledged that the prime source for this study would be text based, but in documentary terms once haberdashery is subsumed into a garment, it goes mostly unrecorded. It was necessary therefore to find ways of identifying and quantifying the available haberdashery wares at retail point in order to make comparisons over a long period of time, and to combine these with available evidence which would demonstrate the manner in which the wares were finally deployed. There are few sources that could provide continuity of detail through a span of two hundred and fifty years, and one of the challenges was to find material to cover as much as possible of the period. Some sources identified for use by the Dictionary Project (such as the Statutes of the Realm, and Books of Rates) were recognised as being of limited value for a study of haberdashery. For this study, therefore, four types of source were selected: probate inventories; diaries and personal papers including a small number of wills; trade cards and billheads; advertisements from provincial newspapers.

## Probate Inventories

My sample of retailers' inventories covers the years 1543-1769.<sup>50</sup> Although the Dictionary Project team collected some of the inventories, the majority of documents in my sample were selected and transcribed by myself. A probate inventory is 'a detailed list of articles, such as goods and chattels, or parcels of land, found to have been in the possession of a person at the time of his [or her] decease ... sometimes with a statement of the nature and value of each,'<sup>51</sup> and in the case of deceased retailers, these can extend to considerable detail about the wares he or she had for sale. In the past doubts have been cast by some historians on the reliability of inventories, from the point of manipulation by the appraisers and the casting up of the mathematical totals, to the validity of the values placed on the wares. However, Cox and Cox demonstrate that 'with some important exceptions valuations were properly made in line with market prices.'<sup>52</sup> Proof of the availability of haberdashery goods, and the distribution and diversity of retail outlets stocking the wares, will confirm the necessity of the wares. The variety of wares available in different parts of the country will be assessed for evidence of changes through time and distance.

## Diaries and personal papers

Written by people from a variety of social backgrounds, the diaries and personal papers collected for this study span the years 1648-1783. They include those of a Sussex family, two drapers, a mercer, a tailor, an artist, two gentlemen, and two ladies – one young, one old. The survival of diaries and their eventual depositing in record offices is, of course, a matter of chance, and although most are fortuitously from the focus areas, two are from Devon, and others cannot be securely placed. The documents will be used to observe references to haberdashery and clothing across the social strata for an indication of its everyday use, together with commentary from the

---

<sup>50</sup> See *Appendix 8*, from p.339.

<sup>51</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>52</sup> Cox, N. and J., 'Valuations in Probate Inventories: Part I,' *The Local Historian*, Vol. 16, No.8, (1985), p.471.

several retailers. This section is augmented by reference to other, published, diaries such as those of Lady Anne Clifford,<sup>53</sup> Richard Latham,<sup>54</sup> and William Stout,<sup>55</sup> whose situations sometimes mirror, sometimes oppose the unpublished diarists. Although at first sight many of these little books appear to be such a mixture of domestic, personal, business and even agricultural items as to be irreconcilable, closer attention shows that it is possible to glean a considerable amount of information about the social and economic realities of a range of overlapping lives. While such account books and diaries cannot be representative of all individuals or households of their period, their unique value is in describing the personal expenditure patterns and choices.

## Wills

A small sample of northern wills, recorded between 1612 and 1739 and overlapping the period covered by the inventories, will be used to evaluate the importance and affectionate regard attached to items of clothing or their component parts.

## Trade cards

The prime value of the trade cards in the sample rests on their ability to provide a subtext of information concerning the development of advertising techniques and retailing, along with their catalogue of available wares. They also indicate those wares that the retailer considered the most significant. Trade cards often crossed the boundary between text and illustration with an unexpected sophistication of reference and symbolism. They rarely included the year, although most appear to be from the

---

<sup>53</sup> Clifford, D.J.H. (ed.), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, (Stroud: 1990).

<sup>54</sup> Weatherill, L.M., 'The Account Book of Richard Latham, 1724-1767', *Records of Social and Economic History*, New Series XV, (London and New York: 1990).

<sup>55</sup> Marshall, J.D., (ed.), *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752*, (New York: 1967).

eighteenth century. Dating is usually only secure where corresponding reference in trade directories exists or the card has been used as a bill or receipt.<sup>56</sup>

## Newspapers

Although newspapers were in circulation and sometimes carried advertisements by the mid-seventeenth century, John Styles notes<sup>57</sup> that the vendors of wares appear to have been slow to exploit the full potential of newspaper advertising. Text from newspapers, in the form of advertising and announcements dating from the mid-1700s, together with items concerned with the clothing descriptions of runaway servants or apprentices, informs this enquiry through the later eighteenth century.

## Visual evidence

The three elements of the forthcoming dictionary – definition, archive material and concept articles - are all served by close examination of text such as that noted above. The subject of haberdashery, however, being one which could benefit from the examination of visual evidence, opened up the potential of an additional element, that of image research. Similarly, it was felt that where possible the examination of extant examples of contemporary clothing should be combined with the textual and visual information to enlighten the study further, just as Breward and Taylor recommend. For a wider understanding of many of the terms employed by both period documents and secondary sources, it was essential to study and photograph period clothing in national and local costume collections. Over four hundred photographs now form the nucleus of a detailed record of the use of haberdashery wares in the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> See example, *Appendix 6*, p.336.

<sup>57</sup> Personal communication.

<sup>58</sup> See *Illustrations*, from p.347.

## Computer use

The selection of source material was thus textual, visual and tangible. One of the most sensible ways to make use of a variety of sources is to convert their diverse particulars into a single comparable form. Computers can most effectively handle the manipulation of data in quantity, once it is transcribed into machine-readable form and the data entered in discrete database fields. FOXPRO software was selected by Wolverhampton University for the Dictionary Project, as being capable of searching, sorting and ordering linked multiple database queries. Although individual fields are restricted to a specific number of characters per entry, Foxpro has the advantage of memo fields with no space restrictions. This means that, although the basic data is entered in the usual column layout with, for example, fields for date, place, trader name, and occupation, the additional memo field can be opened for the insertion of additional details or quotations from the original documents.

## Databases

As I was one of the team setting up the Dictionary Project and devising the construction of references, methods, fields *etcetera*, all the databases for my study were constructed to interact with each other and with those of *The Dictionary*. Eleven databases were constructed initially but as the study progressed some were combined and two discarded as being of insufficient value; the markets database, for example, although potentially very interesting for an investigation of fixed shop and marketplace relationship, demanded too much time-consuming research into unrelated areas.

The methodology for composition of the unique alphanumeric reference for each individual, and the construction of databases are detailed in Chapter 1.2. When constructing the databases, which in most cases took place before all the material was amassed, it was deemed important to make provision for all possible fields that might eventually be necessary for the entry of data. At that point in the project adding fields was thought to be more difficult than it later proved. Some fields, indeed some

databases, were subsequently found to be redundant, others were never large enough. In WARES for example, the demographics of each trader's place would have been an interesting, and doubtless revealing, addition to the record but, rather like research for the discarded database called MARKETS, mentioned above, the time spent on acquiring the relevant data, even if it existed, would not have been justified by the rewards. Some fields were used only very rarely, where more frequent entries had been expected.<sup>59</sup> A 'Totals' field was also eventually seen as unnecessary; some of the inventory totals included household goods while others did not, debts might or might not be detailed, and their inclusion would have been misleading and pointless. It was decided that, although totals would obviously be used where they could sensibly be obtained and were relevant, they were not appropriate for the databases in this study.

The use of databases is aimed to make the manipulation of data more efficient and quicker to manage than card indexes and transcribed paperwork. Databases sharing a common field can be linked together and used in tandem; specific items can be speedily located; entries can be searched and ordered to isolate and refine sections of data; information can be extracted and tabulated; but perhaps the most useful tool is the 'elastic memo,' the means by which large quantities of text can be accessed instantly but do not take up field space.

## The Structure of the Thesis

The study begins with an examination of the historiography of the subject, and the methodology of the investigation. Chapter 2. examines some of the wares themselves and their development. Chapter 3. will discuss the focus counties from where documentary evidence was selected and look at those aspects that may or may not impact upon the availability of the wares and the requirements of haberdashery users. It will examine the development of the haberdashers guild and the retailing of haberdashery wares, then look at the variety of trades of men and women who were

---

<sup>59</sup> See 'Second Place' in the database HABERDAS, Chapter 1.2, p.56.

found though their probate inventories or diaries to have been dealers in haberdashery goods.

Chapter 4. will investigate the evidence of the haberdashery available in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through the analysis of inventories, broken down by county and decade, using databases and worksheets. Chapter 5. will look at the haberdashery goods obtainable in the eighteenth century, through use of diaries and wills, trade cards, newspapers and inventories where available, together with the ways in which they were retailed and eventually used. In order to locate haberdashery at the start of the early modern period Appendix 1, p.321, will briefly examine the early historical development of apparel.

The conclusion will show that the field of haberdashery is deserving of far more attention than it has commanded in the past, and will make a contribution to the historiography of the history of dress and material culture.



# Chapter 1

## Historiography and Methodology

The first part of this chapter examines the historiography of the study of dress and looks at why, in the past, clothing has been undervalued as evidence of change. The second part sets out the methodology to be used in the study.

### Part 1. Historiography

#### Early interest in clothing

Clothing appears to have been a subject of considerable personal interest since early times. In her comprehensive work *Establishing Dress History* Lou Taylor dates the interest in collecting dress and textiles as beginning in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. She quotes Nevinson's belief that the 'first museum of costume and natural history on record' was that of Sigmund von Heberstein, ambassador from the German court to Poland in 1517, and confirms that the first specialised books on dress published in Europe appeared around 1520.<sup>60</sup> The book, *Habiti Antichi e Moderni di diverse parti del Mondo*, (reprinted by Dover as *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book*), published in Venice in 1590 by Cesare Vecellio, contained 500 woodcuts of costume from all over the then known world. (see Fig.1). Laver commented in *The Literature of Fashion* that it was 'the most famous of early works on fashion...and almost certainly was known to Shakespeare'<sup>61</sup>, while Nevinson believed it to show 'relations with a fashion house in Venice', and in perhaps the earliest example of an advertising opportunity, he quotes from it that 'the progenitor of these beautiful fabrics is Master Bartholomew Bontemple at the sign of the

---

<sup>60</sup> Taylor, *Establishing Dress History*, (Manchester: 2004), p.105.

<sup>61</sup> Laver, J., *The Literature of Fashion*, (Cambridge: 1947), p.7.

“Chalice”...In his store, to which many gentlemen and princes send orders...are to be seen brocades worked in all manner of gold and silver’.<sup>62</sup>

The early books, Taylor notes, concentrated on dress of their own time and showed little interest in historical dress.<sup>63</sup> They were, however, aimed to satisfy a deep curiosity concerning the ‘barbarous and savage’; the newly discovered parts of the world; the exotic and oriental; and the habits of all classes of people in Europe, urban and rural. These books, with their pictorial representations of travellers’ tales, were to become the foundation for the visual imagery that informed European art and shaped European concepts of other nations for generations to come. They illustrated the dress of a wide span of ranks, trades and professions, visually representing a breadth of social classes more extensively than many publications of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One of the best known of the thirteen books by Jost Amman, for example, known as the *Book of Trades* and published in 1568, is particularly informative in illustrating the clothing, equipment and methods employed by numerous trades: among others are the printer, bookbinder, furrier, papermaker, and tailor.<sup>64</sup> Amman’s drawing of a pedlar with his tray of haberdashery wares is still used by both popular culture and more academic works as the generic visual reference for pedlars and chapmen of a somewhat amorphous ‘Middle Ages,’ often alongside Autolycus’ peddler’s song from Shakespeare’s *The Winter’s Tale*.<sup>65</sup>

Clothing, however, has continued to be omitted from academic investigation. The poverty of the historiography reveals the reluctance of past (predominantly male) academic historians to accept clothing as a legitimate subject for research. To take just one example, despite claims to be concerned with social history as ‘the history of people with the politics left out’, in his major and influential work *English Social History*, 1942, re-published in 1949 as the *Illustrated English Social History*, Sir

---

<sup>62</sup> Taylor, *Establishing Dress History*, (Manchester: 2004), p. 8, quoting text from Nevinson, J.L., *Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate*, (Washington: 1967), p.74.

<sup>63</sup> Taylor, *op cit*, p.4.

<sup>64</sup> The tailor’s plate shows a tailor using shears with a yardstick to hand, a journeyman sitting cross-legged on a table near the window for good light when sewing, a woman’s gown hanging up with bands and a weight for inserting permanent pleats, and an under-bench box for the collection of scraps – the tailors’ perquisites. Arnold, J., *Patterns of Fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c1560-1620*, (London: 1985), p.3.

<sup>65</sup> Shakespeare, W., *The Winter’s Tale*, Act IV, Scene III.

George Trevelyan mentions clothing only three times in Volume I, 'Chaucer's England and the early Tudors'. He briefly describes the clothes of Chaucer and the court of Richard II, mentions what he assumed were the entirely home-produced dress of 'inmates of the manor house', and notes the illustrations of court life on present day playing cards. By comparison, in that volume there are 37 different, and sometimes extensive, references to cloth manufacture and the cloth trade. There is just one reference to clothing in Volume II. It deals with men's dress as a theme of satire, and unisex ruffs, conceding, 'Both sexes wore round neck ruffs of various sizes and shapes. Such fashions were confined to the well to do but all classes wore beards'. In Volume III 'The Eighteenth Century' there is one reference to the wearing of swords as 'being like the full-bottomed wig, a part of full dress', and Volume IV has no clothes reference whatsoever.<sup>66</sup>

Although the study of dress as a part of material culture is of comparatively recent origin, an examination of the historiography of costume reveals that the significance of apparel as being more than just bodily protection was recognised in some early writings and images.<sup>67</sup> References to haberdashery, however, are infrequent. Randle Holme, whose copious writings and illustrations of artefacts have proved enlightening in many areas of seventeenth-century life, is somewhat less informative on dress and accessories.<sup>68</sup> Hats and clothing are briefly covered in Book III, Chapters 1 and 2 with some useful detail. His rather crude drawings demonstrate contemporary costume, including a woman's mantua, and his illustrations of craftsmen show

---

<sup>66</sup> Trevelyan, Sir George, *Illustrated English Social History*, Vol. I, 'Chaucer's England and the early Tudors', pp.61, 67, 143, 179. Vol. II, 'The Age of Shakespeare and the Stuart Period', p.54. Vol. III, 'The Eighteenth Century,' (1949), (Harmondsworth: paperback edition, 1964), p.49.

<sup>67</sup> For clothing homilies to his daughter see Tour-Landry, Geoffroy de la, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, 1361*, Wright, Thomas (tr.) Early English Text Society, (London: 1868).

For description and social comment see Chaucer, Geoffrey, (c. 1386), *The Canterbury Tales*, in particular The Prologue, 'The Miller's Tale,' and 'The Wife of Bath', Heiatt, A. K. and C. (eds), (London: 1982); Borde, A., *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, (1542), Furnivall, F.J. (ed.), *Early English Text Society*, (London: 1870).

For court clothing and gloves see Matthew Stokys, *Esquire Bedel, his book, c.1574*, hand copied into Cole, Rev. W., *Collected Papers*, (c.1773), BM.Add.Ms.5845.

See also engraved plates illustrating Strutt, Joseph, (1796), *A Complete View of the Dress and habits of the People of England*, Planché, J.R. (ed.), (London: 1870).

<sup>68</sup> Holme, Randle, *Academy of armory, or a storehouse of armory and blazon*, Vol. 1, (Chester: for the author, 1688); Holme, Randle, *Academy of armory, or a storehouse of Armory and blazon*, Vol. II, edited by I.H.Jeayes, Roxburghe Club, (London: 1905).

stylised examples of working clothes. Chapter 3. enumerates types of lace and embroidery, and demonstrates by a list of possessions that schoolmistresses were expected to teach embroidery. In that he does not illustrate the haberdasher in the chapter on craftspeople, nor use the term haberdashery, he confirms the early modern authors' position in simply not seeing the importance of small wares. The nearest he comes to haberdashery is in his references to embroidery, which was of course a lucrative industry for the dealers (though not the workers) and a major source of employment, and thus much more 'visible.'<sup>69</sup> Works such as *Dress and Habits of the People of England* by Josiah Strutt first published in 1796, and Fairholt's mid-nineteenth century publication *Costume of England*,<sup>70</sup> are more helpful in their reproductions of contemporary records of clothing in considerable detail, including small wares and accessories.

## Dress History

An interest in the chronological ordering and recording of changes in costume in the Western world has typified the work of historians of dress for at least two centuries. The nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries unfortunately saw a plethora of ill researched and badly illustrated 'romantic' histories of costume.<sup>71</sup> These books were ably filling their niche in providing reference and interest for amateur artists and dramatists but they were undoubtedly confirming their subject matter as being of little interest to historians. For example, although the 1930 publication *Clothes on and off the Stage*, by Helen Chalmers,<sup>72</sup> does include such useful detail as a rare mention of Ear strings: 'resembling black shoelaces were tied through a hole in the ear,'<sup>73</sup> the

---

<sup>69</sup> Alcock, N.W. and Nancy Cox, *Living and Working in Seventeenth-Century England: Descriptions and Drawings from Randle Holme's Academy of Armory*. Available in CD-ROM version. (London: 2000).

<sup>70</sup> Fairholt, F.W., *Costume of England*, Vol. I, Revised edition, (London: 1885).

<sup>71</sup> Such as: Pyne, W.H., *Microcosm: or a Picturesque Delineation of the Arts, Agriculture, Manufacture &c. of Great Britain. In a series above six Hundred Groups of Small Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape*, reproduced in *Picturesque Views of Rural Occupations in Early Nineteenth Century England*, (New York: 1977).

<sup>72</sup> Chalmers, H., *Clothes on and off the Stage*, (New York and London: 1930).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, p.168. There is a passing reference to ear strings in Brooke, I. *English Costume of the Later Middle Ages*, (London: 1935), and, with appropriate literary references, in the glossary of Fairholt's *Costume in England*, Dillon, H. A. (ed.), Vol. II, (London: 1896), p.152-153.

sketches that accompany the text become in themselves part of the fancy-dress hurdle placed in the way of legitimate study.

Such works as *English Costume of the Later Middle Ages* written by Iris Brooke in 1935 draw upon the earliest surviving manuscript illustrations, contemporary documentary evidence, and church monuments.<sup>74</sup> However, the purpose of such publications was not to investigate the underlying causes and meaning of larger stylistic change, nor yet to investigate the pragmatic details of substance and construction, but to record the shorter-term *avant-garde* adaptations, more easily recognised as ‘fashion’. Although Brooke makes comparisons between what she terms the ‘sober fashions’ of ordinary people and the exaggerated ones of the wealthy, and gives illustrations of both styles (often unreferenced), the end result is still that of the dressing-up box.<sup>75</sup>

C. Willett Cunnington and his wife Phyllis began their benchmark costume collection and research in the 1930s. Described by Jane Tozer as ‘...the first fighters for the scholarly respectability of our subject,’<sup>76</sup> they claimed a scientific approach towards the collecting of period costumes:

Our researches were aimed at discovering why changes in popular taste should have occurred, and our collection of specimens we regarded as psychological evidence revealing the tastes and prejudices of past generations.<sup>77</sup>

Unfortunately Dr. Cunnington's somewhat sexist approach to the analysis of dress, and his deliberate suppression of costume provenance in the interests of mass-psychology, detract a little from the value of the Cunningtons' enduring achievements, the *Dictionary* and *Handbooks*.<sup>78</sup> Indeed they may have contributed to

---

The 1615 portrait of Sir William Playters at Ipswich Museum (painter unknown) shows a long stranded woven tassel hanging from his left ear.

<sup>74</sup> Brooke, I., *English Costume*, (London: 1935).

<sup>75</sup> Even so, hers are among the better early-twentieth century costume books; see also Brooke, I., *Dress and Undress: Restoration and 18<sup>th</sup> Century*, (London: 1958).

<sup>76</sup> Tozer, J. ‘Cunnington's Interpretation of Dress’, *Costume*, 20, (1986), pp. 1-17.

<sup>77</sup> Cunnington, C. Willett, *Looking Over My Shoulder*, (London, 1961), p.22.

<sup>78</sup> Cunnington, C. Willett and P., *A Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth century*, (London: 1954). Cunnington, C. Willett and P. (London: 1972), *A Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, third edition, (London: 1972). Cunnington, C. Willett

the academic tradition of dress not being of sufficient merit to warrant serious attention. It is, after all, difficult to take entirely seriously the work of an author who has contributed a book entitled *Women* to a series called 'Pleasures of Life' – alongside other volumes dealing with cricket and gardening!<sup>79</sup>

Still widely quoted as the prime authority on the history of costume, some of the Cunningtons' statements need to be checked as, in some instances, subsequent research has securely dated items to an earlier period than they claimed.<sup>80</sup> Tozer notes that, although some of Dr. Cunnington's ideas on the psychology of dress are likely to be found dated and sexist by the modern reader, they still exert an influence on the study and teaching of dress.

It is a matter for concern if students are still learning unquestioningly from a model which is obsolete and, to many, unacceptable. It is time that the minor works were placed in context as period pieces in the study of dress, and relegated to the historical shelf.<sup>81</sup>

Cunnington's theories on the psychology of fashion, which postulate a schism between the male and female mind, fail in their endeavour to maintain a scientific objectivity, since they investigate only the behaviour of women. The theory is the product of its time in that it appears tacitly to regard the male as the norm, the female as the aberration to be observed, described and analysed.<sup>82</sup>

*Occupational Costumes*, and *Charity Costumes*, Phyllis Cunnington's later books with Catherine Lucas, are well researched and securely referenced, and are successful in having greater objectivity without the amateur psychology.<sup>83</sup> In 1949, accounting for the patronising attitudes and basically lightweight treatment meted out to the study

---

and P. A *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth century*, third edition. (London: 1972).

<sup>79</sup> Cunnington, C.Willett, *Women*, (Pleasures of Life Series), (London: 1950).

<sup>80</sup> For example, the conclusion that in England 'knitting did not become established until the sixteenth century' (Cunnington, *Handbook*, (London: 1970), p.87.), is patently incorrect, since knitted caps were on the statute books in the fifteenth century, (see Hartley, M. and Ingilby, J., (eds), (1969), *The Old Hand-knitters of the Dales*, in Thirsk, J., 'The Fantastical Folly of Fashion' in *Textile History and Economic History*, N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (eds), (Manchester: 1973), p.12.); the import of knitted gloves was proscribed in 1463 (Statutes of the Realm, 3 Ed.IV c.4); and fragments of woollen knitted fabric have been found in fourteenth century deposits in London, (see Crowfoot, E., *et al*, (1992), pp. 72-4; illustration Plate 13 (A)).

<sup>81</sup> Tozer, J., 'Cunnington's Interpretation of Dress', *Costume*, Volume 20, (1986), p.9.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, p.13.

<sup>83</sup> Cunnington, P. and C. Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England*, (London: 1967),  
Cunnington, P. and C.Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, (London: 1978).

of clothing, Doris Langley Moore, one of the few earlier women writers treating the subject as a social issue, commented that ‘all the psychological enquiries into fashion are predominantly concerned with feminine fashion, and the band of theorists has without exception been male.’<sup>84</sup>

James Laver in the 1960s was, like Cunnington, enthusiastic about the use of literary sources for reference despite Doris Langley Moore’s earlier warnings that ‘novelists of any period, enlightening as they are, tend to fall into the conventions of that period, which to a large extent they themselves create.’<sup>85</sup> However, Laver’s publications<sup>86</sup> made a notable contribution towards a more serious attitude to clothing history.<sup>87</sup> He also edited the series *Costume of the Western World*, an interpretation of costume based on visual arts, which discussed such issues as changing taste in clothing.

Working at a similar time was J.L. Nevins, whose publications on the dissemination of fashion information through the development of the printed ‘fashion plate’, are still widely quoted on that subject.<sup>88</sup> In a treatise in 1977 on buttons and buttonholes of the fourteenth century, Nevins was one of the first to note the practical, as opposed to merely decorative, use of buttons by poorer people in a period considerably earlier than accepted tradition had placed it.<sup>89</sup>

In the main, however, other costume historians continued to fail to address the basis of clothing development, with only limited comment on historical context and the effect of external influences on fashion. Some authors indeed decided deliberately to omit reference to the effect on clothing of cultural, political and economic trends, social aspirations and perceptions. Emma von Sichart editing the writings of Carl Kohler (painter and art historian, 1825-1876) stated in her preface to *A History of Costume* that she had:

---

<sup>84</sup> Moore, D.L., *The Woman in Fashion*, (London: 1949), p.1.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid*, p.16.

<sup>86</sup> For example: Laver, J., *Costume*, (London: 1963), and *idem*, *A Concise History of Costume*, (London: 1969).

<sup>87</sup> V & A Museum Publication, *Seventeenth and eighteenth century costume*, Introduction and notes by Laver, J., (1951) Reprint edition (London: 1959).

<sup>88</sup> Nevins, J.L., ‘Fashion Plates and Fashion, 1625-1636’, *Apollo*, 51, (1950), pp.138-140; *idem*, ‘Origins and early history of the Fashion Plate’, *National Museums Bulletin*, Smithsonian Press, 250, (1967), pp.65-91.

<sup>89</sup> Nevins, J. L., ‘Buttons and Buttonholes in the Fourteenth Century’, in *Costume*, Vol. 2, (1977), pp. 38-44.

omitted some passages and shortened others. In particular I have discarded his introductions, which deal with the history and the civilisation of the various periods.<sup>90</sup>

Taylor notes, in the 1960s, the inception of two specialist journals in the field of dress history: *Costume*, in 1967, and in the following year, *Textile History*. In *Costume* under the twenty-six year editorship of Dr. Ann Saunders, Taylor writes,

Emphasis is always on 'object-based' research, basically analysis of surviving clothes with some debate on approaches to research...Close reading of *Costume* clarifies that this journal has always considered clothing to lie within the embrace of social history though it does not as a policy provide space for in-depth social history research *per se*....

...[The Pasold Research Fund] supported the setting up of the journal *Textile History* in 1968, to encourage research into the history of textiles and their technological development, design and conservation. Stanley D. Chapman has edited this journal since it started...Contributors...were for many years mostly male academics or museum curators.<sup>91</sup>

However, with the appointment of Negley Harte as Director of the Pasold Fund, contributors to both journals came under attack as he accused fellow economic historians of having 'shied away from attempting to address their statistical questions to clothes themselves,' while dress historians were reprimanded as leaving clothing,

quite inadequately related to wide matters of concern to the historian of social change and movements in the standard of living for example or to price levels, patterns of expenditure and consumption...[also] dress is studied almost entirely separately from textiles, from the textile trades and from the changing technology of textile production.<sup>92</sup>

Change came slowly. With a few notable exceptions, such as Squire in 1974, *Dress Art and Society*,<sup>93</sup> and in the same year Stella Mary Newton's *Health, Art and Reason*, Anne Buck's scholarly examples,<sup>94</sup> and the excellent art-history work of Anne

---

<sup>90</sup> Kohler, C., (1928), *A History of Costume*, von Sichart, Emma (ed.), (London and New York: reprint, 1963), p.5.

<sup>91</sup> Taylor, L., *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), pp.66-67.

<sup>92</sup> Harte, N., book review, (*Textile History*, 8, 1977), p.183, in Taylor, L., *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), p.69.

<sup>93</sup> Squire, G., *Dress Art and Society 1560-1970*, (London: 1974).

<sup>94</sup> For example Buck, A., 'Variations in English Women's Dress in the Eighteenth Century', *Folk Life*, 9, (1971), pp.5-28; *idem*, *Dress in Eighteenth Century England*, (London: 1979).



Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*,<sup>95</sup> the methodology of the study of dress continued to follow an artefact-based course. Particular attention was paid in the 1970s and early 1980s to the construction of early modern period clothing. The painstaking and informative work of Janet Arnold,<sup>96</sup> for example, using a variety of extant clothes, manuscript and printed sources, was primarily intended to assist the study and reproduction of particular items of dress; Norah Waugh also contributed to this construction theme in her two publications dealing with the cut of period clothing.<sup>97</sup> The object-based studies in Arnold's works deal usefully with haberdashery in a practical way, but as Breward says of archaeological evidence, the observations of the items 'tend towards description rather than explanation' and the surviving artefacts are represented as somehow 'floating above the pressures of social construction and historical manipulation the dress historians [more recently] have identified as coming to bear on literary and pictorial sources.'<sup>98</sup> The two 'Visual History of Costume' books published by Batsford in the early 1980s have become respected reference books, although even here there are occasional unrealistic sweeping generalisations: 'Women were dressed in elongated, tightly boned bodices worn with wide, tilted-wheel farthingales...Men wore padded doublets with distended 'peascod bellies'...'<sup>99</sup> and haberdashery receives only casual mention:

Bedecking with ribbons, braids and lace, the extravagant use of collars cravats and sleeve ruffles, the addition of small accessories...are understandable because attractive or interesting variants were easier to fabricate on a small scale.. The production of these accessories was distributed among various specialist tradesmen...<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>95</sup> Hollander, A., *Seeing Through Clothes*, (Berkeley and London: 1978).

<sup>96</sup> For example, Arnold, J., *Patterns of Fashion I, English women's dresses and their construction, 1660-1860*, (London: 1977); *idem, Patterns of Fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c1560-1620*, (London: 1985).

<sup>97</sup> Waugh, Norah, *The Cut of Men's Clothes: 1600-1900*, (London: 1994). *idem, The Cut of Women's Clothes: 1600-1930*, (London: 1968). For other costume studies see: Anthony, I., 'Clothing for a late sixteenth century servant in Wales', *Costume*, 14, (1980), pp.32-40. Nevinson, J.L., 'Men's' Costume in the Isham Collection', *Connoisseur*, Vol. XCIV, Nov. (1934), pp.313-320.

<sup>98</sup> Breward, C., *The culture of fashion: A new history of fashionable dress*, (Manchester: 1995).

<sup>99</sup> Cumming, Valerie, *A Visual History of Costume: The Seventeenth Century*, (London: 1984), p.14; Ribeiro, Aileen, *A Visual History of Costume: The Eighteenth Century*, (London: 1983).

<sup>100</sup> Cumming, Valerie, *A Visual History of Costume: The Seventeenth Century*, (London: 1984), p.15.

In the 1980s the work of social and art historians was having an influence effect on methodological issues, among them art historian Jules Prown in the USA. Prown points out that many core beliefs of a cultural group are understood but not articulated, remaining hidden from outsiders, and even from the group itself. Basic beliefs, he claims, are most clearly understood through the manner in which a society behaves, or its style. Beliefs are therefore ‘encapsulated in the form of things, especially unself-conscious, utilitarian objects.’<sup>101</sup> Prown also believes, as did Anne Buck,<sup>102</sup> that fiction may reveal the patterns and realities of history. Prown proposed a ‘three stage methodology for “reading” objects, which moved from *description* to *deduction* to *speculation*, thereby “framing hypotheses and questions which lead out from the object to external evidence for testing and resolution.”’<sup>103</sup> His recommendations for handling artefact research are identical to those required by any historian approaching a document: ‘each item should be scrutinised for evidence of what it was, when and how it was made, who made and used it, and what it meant to the original wearer.’<sup>104</sup>

With such methodology in mind it is particularly surprising, and disappointing, that in the more enlightened times of the 1980s, Simon Schama should have devoted so little attention to clothing in *The Embarrassment of Riches*, a book sub-titled ‘An interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age’.<sup>105</sup> It is astonishing that in such a richly illustrated publication, where every image declares its interest in clothing, it was even *possible* to discuss the life and the art shown while omitting comment on the portrayal and significance of the garments. In the single paragraph concerning the cost of personal clothing - and bed linen - the clothing of just one inventory is quoted, and mention is made that ‘It was not uncommon...for a *huisvrouw* to own thirty or more bonnets.’ Schama noted from the Amsterdam inventories that two-thirds of

---

<sup>101</sup> Prown, Jules David, ‘Mind in Matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method,’ *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17, (1982), p.197-210.

<sup>102</sup> Buck, A., ‘Clothes in Fact and Fiction 1825-1865,’ *Costume*, 17, (1983), pp.89-104.

<sup>103</sup> Prown, Jules David, ‘Mind in Matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method,’ *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17, (1982), p.7, quoted in Taylor, L., *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), p.69.

<sup>104</sup> Baumgarten, L., *What Clothes Reveal*, (New Haven and London: 2002), p.64.

<sup>105</sup> Schama, S., *The Embarrassment of Riches: An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*, (New York: 1987), pp.321-2.

movable assets were in domestic goods and furnishings and only one third in clothes. He concluded, 'For the many among the Dutch middling sort, the display of status and fortune was expressed primarily in home comforts.' Sadly, the reader learns nothing about the clothes, or their integral haberdashery, making up that not insignificant third.

Burman and Turbin in their discussion of the gendering of artefacts, remark that historians of western society, even social historians who are 'committed to interpreting working people's daily lives, have paid little attention to material culture or its visual and tactile dimensions.'<sup>106</sup> However, despite being hampered by the irrational antipathy of academia, by the impermanent nature of textiles, and by the alterations that have been inflicted on extant period garments, social historians have increasingly come to regard dress as a legitimate and fruitful area for study.<sup>107</sup> Works are now, in Giorgio Riello's phrase, increasingly showing the fruits of a convergence between the university and museum worlds.<sup>108</sup> Such works include those of Christopher Breward and John Styles<sup>109</sup> on fashion through textual and sociological analysis, Aileen Ribeiro and Marcia Pointon<sup>110</sup> on dress through art-history, Maxine Berg, Helen Clifford and Carolyn Sargentson<sup>111</sup> on luxury and material culture, whilst Daniel Roche's book *The Culture of Clothing: dress and*

---

<sup>106</sup> Burman, B., and C. Turbin, 'Introduction: Material Strategies Engendered', *Gender & History*, 14/3, (2002), p. 371.

<sup>107</sup> See, for example, Spufford, M., *The great reclothing of rural England*, (London: 1984); Bell, Q., *On Human Finery*, (London: 1976); Chapman, S., 'Ready made fashion: a historical profile of the U.K. clothing industry', and Levitt, S., 'Bristol clothing trades and exports in the Georgian period', papers presented to the International Convention C.I.S.S.T., *Per una storia della moda pronta - problemi e ricerche*, Milan, February, (1990). (Edizioni Firenze s.r.l. 1991).

<sup>108</sup> Riello, G., *A Foot in the Past: Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: 2006), p.6.

<sup>109</sup> Breward, C., 'Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress', *Fashion Theory*, 2, 4, (1998), 301-313. Styles, J., 'Dress in History: reflections on a contested terrain', *Fashion Theory*, 2, 4, (1998).

<sup>110</sup> Ribeiro, A., *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England*, (New Haven and London: 2005); Pointon, M., *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New Haven and London: 1993).

<sup>111</sup> Berg, M., *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (Oxford: 2005); Berg, M., and H. Clifford, (eds), *Consumers and luxury: Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*, (Manchester: 1999); Sargentson, C., *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (London: 1996).

*fashion in the Ancien Regime* marks a further move towards a new sort of *histoire totale*, with careful and original cross-class archival analysis.<sup>112</sup>

## The Language of Clothes

It has thus, finally, been acknowledged by many late-twentieth century historians that clothes carried information about the individual and the choices he or she could exercise. Writers approaching the subject from different social and cultural perspectives can address issues such as the existence of a 'language' of clothes. Anne Hollander, art and dress historian, in her pioneering publication of 1978 notes that despite the acknowledged psychological and social importance of clothing 'dress usually fails to qualify as serious *in itself*. Clothes themselves are believed to be merely shifting ephemera on the surface of life, and so it is easy to consider them trivial.' She believes that clothes cannot be compared,

to kinds of verbal behaviour such as informative speech, exclamations, or bursts of persuasive rhetoric...individual appearances in clothes are not 'statements,' as they are often called, but more like public readings of literary works in different genres of which the rules are generally understood.

A genre develops as it is modified by its practitioners, Hollander notes, always building on its own examples and within its rules. Thus,

..Western clothing is not a sequence of direct social and aesthetic messages cast in a language of fabric, but rather a form of self-perpetuating visual fiction, like figurative art itself....Because they share in a perpetually idealising vision of art, clothes must be seen and studied as paintings are seen and studied, not primarily as cultural by products or personal expressions but as connected links in a creative tradition of image making.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>112</sup> Roche, D., *The Culture of Clothing: dress and fashion in the Ancien Regime*, (Cambridge: 1994).

<sup>113</sup> Hollander, A., *Seeing Through Clothes*, (Berkeley and London: 1978), p.xv-xvi.

Writing thirteen years later, Alison Lurie believes in a language of clothes - and titles her book as such.<sup>114</sup> She notes that in *Daughter of Eve* (1839) Balzac said that for a woman 'dress is a continual manifestation of intimate thoughts, a language, a symbol', while Roland Barthes in *The Diseases of Costume* speaks of theatrical dress as a kind of writing. Lurie's observations are acute and perceptive and, as a novelist, she ties clothing very closely to her language analogy. The terminology she employs – vocabulary, words, dialect, accent, and sentences – is wholly associated with the structure of written or spoken language, and she likens garments to archaic, foreign and slang words, to eloquence and bad taste. Her arguments for clothing as a sign system in the twentieth century can be equally applied to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Lurie notes that clothes 'designed for strenuous physical work are often transformed into fashionable play clothes' and that protective clothing, such as that designed for warfare, is quickly adapted by the fashion conscious. A theory which could be applied, for example, to the eighteenth-century tricorne hats and frogged jackets of the men-about-town, in themselves quasi-military, which became the accessories of smart ladies' riding habits. De la Haye and Wilson, however, described Lurie's approach as a revival of a rather 'moralistic' approach, 'seeing clothing as a language which punks, for example, could use as a means of expressing their infantile anger and suppressed longing to be mothered'.<sup>115</sup> They note that Fred Davis commented that,

while clothes do 'make a statement' they cannot be grammatically parsed like language and that [Davis] 'sees dress as communicating in a manner closer to music: an under coded form of communication' expressive of mood and personality certainly, but in a manner distinct from linguistic forms.<sup>116</sup>

Grant McCracken, working from an anthropological point of view, also shows the notion of a 'language of clothes' to be a poor and misleading analogy.<sup>117</sup> A language is so constructed, he argues, that through selection of appropriate syntax and

---

<sup>114</sup> Lurie, A., *The Language of Clothes*, (London: revised edition, 1992), pp.3, 27-8.

<sup>115</sup> De la Haye, Amy, and Elizabeth Wilson, *Defining Dress: dress as object, meaning and identity*, (Manchester: 1999), p.5.

<sup>116</sup> Davis, F., *Fashion, Culture and Identity*, (Chicago and London: 1992), quoted in De la Haye, *Defining Dress*, p.6.

<sup>117</sup> McCracken, G., 'Textile History and the Consumer Epidemic: An Anthropological Approach to Popular Consumption and the Mass Market', *Material History Bulletin*, No. 31, Spring, (1990).

vocabulary the possible range of concepts is infinite. Ideas, expressed through sentences, develop as they progress and are only limited by the users' level of comprehension. Quite the reverse is true of clothing, he says. However wide the choice of elements -cloth, style, trimmings, and accessories - they all have to be fixed together in one limited entity, their message is displayed all at once, as "co-present elements"<sup>118</sup> and the only way it can develop is through literal de-construction. In this view the statement is made in the essential first fifteen seconds, (established by twentieth-century advertising research as being the time taken to make an initial assessment of a clothed figure), and is then developed by the actual loosening and removal of clothing and accessories, through formality to relaxation and comfort, to varying degrees of intimacy.

Malcolm Barnard too dismisses Lurie's hypothesis. Notably he also rejects the statement by Douglas and Isherwood that 'man needs goods for communicating with others and for making sense of what is going on around him. The two needs are but one, for communication can only be formed in a structured system of meanings.'<sup>119</sup> in favour of a semiotic model which, he finds, more plausible on the matter of the generation of meanings. He argues that meanings, like fashions, are not static or fixed and neither is the term 'fashion' itself, since 'it was a product of the context in which it first appeared, and that an item could function as fashion at one moment and as clothing or anti-fashion at another.' He concludes his interesting discussion:

Finally then, the curious cultural profile enjoyed by fashion and clothing may be understood as the result of a conflict between the desire for there to be a 'beyond' to the process of endless deferral and differentiation in which the meaning of terms is always a result of a relation to other, different and absent terms<sup>120</sup> and the realisation that there can be no such beyond. Those who see fashion and clothing as trivial and deceptive...are those who desire such a beyond...because they think it would lead to stable and fixed meanings. Those who value fashion and clothing positively...are those who realise there is no such beyond... and are happy with the idea that difference produces meanings and who have no wish to see difference curtailed...It

---

<sup>118</sup> McCracken, G., *Culture and Consumption, New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, (Bloomington Indiana: 1990), p.65.

<sup>119</sup> Douglas, M., and B. Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, (London: 1979), p.95.

<sup>120</sup> Barnard explained in the previous paragraph that 'appearance refers to disappearance, display to concealment; they always already refer to that which was supposed to have been opposed to them.' *Fashion as Communication*, (London and New York: 1996), p. 175.

is claimed then that this is the nature of fashion and clothing and that this is the nature of meaning and communication.<sup>121</sup>

Linda Baumgarten, curator of textiles and costumes at The Colonial Williamsburg Collection, agrees that,

although it can and does say things, clothing's message is more subtle and unclear; it shifts with time and place and is without fixed rules of grammar like a true language ...Part of its pervasive power stems from the ways clothing differs from and goes beyond language as a means of communication ...Humans may use clothing to carry messages that go beyond the communicative capabilities of spoken language. Through their wearing apparel, people can 'say' subtle but important things they would not or could not utter directly; indeed they may not even be consciously aware of the messages themselves.<sup>122</sup>

Such debates, dealing with the theory of dress rather than with artefact-based research, illustrate a growing appreciation of the deeper meaning of historic stylistic changes, yet they still do not address the issue of the part played by haberdashery within these changes.

## Fashion, Identity, and Culture

Some publications of the later twentieth century demonstrating a wide range of interests including technical developments, underlying economic trends, and social perceptions and desires, identify clothing as having an important role in the forming of a consumer society.<sup>123</sup> Other facets of dress history can be seen in such works as *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*,<sup>124</sup> in which Newton demonstrates the significance of fourteenth-century clothing, and publications by Ribeiro, Strong and

---

<sup>121</sup> Barnard, M., *Fashion as Communication*, (London and New York: 1996), pp.26-45, 175.

<sup>122</sup> Baumgarten, L., *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*, (New Haven and London: 2002), pp.55-56.

<sup>123</sup> See for example, Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (1979); McKendrick, N., *et al.*, *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, (London: 1982); Lemire, B., *Fashion's Favourite: The cotton trade and the consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Oxford: 1991).

<sup>124</sup> Newton, S.M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A Study of the years 1340-1365*, (Woodbridge: 1980).

Ashelford, which relate costume development to contemporary portraiture.<sup>125</sup> The facsimile publication *Barbara Johnson's Album*, with discussion by Natalie Rothstein and other members of the Victoria and Albert Museum's textile staff, illustrates the range of textiles available in the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>126</sup> Works on the ready-to-wear and second-hand clothing trades develop the argument regarding the importance of dress as a significant factor within the growth of a material culture.<sup>127</sup> Publications such as *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, by feminist writer Elizabeth Wilson; *Fashion, Culture & Identity*, by sociologist Frederick Davis; and *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* by Jones and Stallybrass, can at last, from their diversity of interests and backgrounds, credibly examine the place of clothing as an essential part of life at all levels of society,<sup>128</sup> in Wilson's words: 'as an aesthetic medium for the expression of ideas, desires and beliefs circulating in society.'<sup>129</sup>

Indeed Jones and Stallybrass point out that, 'the centrality of clothes as the material establishers of identity itself' *demands* the serious study of historians.<sup>130</sup> Through a close reading of literary texts, paintings, textiles, theatrical documents, and ephemera their book aims to reveal how clothing and textiles were crucial to gender, sexuality,

---

<sup>125</sup> Ribeiro, A., *A Visual History of Costume: the eighteenth century*, (London: 1983); *idem*, 'The Exotic Diversion: the dress worn at Masquerades in eighteenth century London', *Connoisseur*, Vol. CXC VII, January, (1978), pp.3-13; Strong, Sir Roy, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, (London: 1969); *idem*, *The Elizabethan Image*, Tate Gallery Exhibition, (London: 1969); Ashelford, J., *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*, (London: 1988).

<sup>126</sup> Rothstein, N., (ed.), *A lady of fashion: Barbara Johnson's album of styles and fabrics*, (London and New York: 1987).

<sup>127</sup> Lemire, B., 'Peddling fashion: Salesmen, Pawnbrokers, Tailors, Thieves and the second hand clothes trade in England c.1700-1800', *Textile History*, 22, (1991), pp.67-82. Ginsburg, M., 'Rags to Riches: the second hand clothes trade 1700-1978', *Costume*, pp.121-135.

See also papers delivered to the International Convention C.I.S.S.T, (1990): Lemire, B., 'The Nature of the Second-hand Clothes Trade: the Role of Popular Fashion and Demand in England, c.1700-1850'; Ribeiro, A., 'Provision of Ready-made and Second-hand Clothing in the Eighteenth Century in England'; du Mortier, B. M., 'Introduction to the used-clothing trade in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: New ready-made garments and second-hand clothes trade'; Arnold, J., 'Smocks, shirts, falling-bands and mantuas: Evidence of loosely-fitting garments and neckwear produced for the ready-to-wear market, c.1560-1700'.

<sup>128</sup> Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000); Wilson, Elizabeth, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, (London: 1985); Davis, Frederick, *Fashion, Culture and Identity*, (Chicago and London: 1992).

<sup>129</sup> Wilson, E., *op cit*, (London: 1985), p.2.

<sup>130</sup> Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *op cit*, p.5.



and religion in the Renaissance. They examine the role of clothes as forms of memory transmitted from master to servant, from friend to friend, from lover to lover. In a movement away from notions of psychological insight to a material consideration of the implications of the portrait, they review the capability of portraiture to present not the inner self or the subject, but rather to represent the clothing and props of wealth and elite opulence. However, although some critics laud the publication as a detailed, well-documented historical argument (for which the authors were awarded the James Russell Lowell Prize of the Modern Language Association), Ribeiro writes that ‘the authors’ arguments are sometimes flawed due to their misunderstanding of the nuances of dress in the period.’ She finds their claim an ‘interesting but unproven argument ... that the theatre of Shakespeare’s time influenced both fashion and the clothing trade generally through its use and re-cycling of second-hand garments.’<sup>131</sup>

‘The more traditional methodology of dress (costume) history,’ write De la Hay and Wilson, ‘has to examine the material culture as an independent entity; to focus, sometimes exclusively, upon object based analyses,’<sup>132</sup> and writing in *Textile History* D.E.Allen makes the point that this traditional way of understanding clothes has been criticised for ‘its incapacity to locate clothing within broader social and cultural narratives.’<sup>133</sup> But it can be seen that by the late 1980s and 1990s, the study of clothing had finally become sufficiently established for historians to explore dress as a cultural phenomenon. Citing Christopher Breward’s *Culture of Fashion*,<sup>134</sup> De la Haye and Wilson note that: ‘In recent years consumption studies have given dress due recognition, explicitly using it as one of the most reliable indexes charting the growth of the consumer society.’<sup>135</sup> For example, in his more recent publication *Fashioning London: Clothing and the Modern Metropolis*, Breward examines fashion ‘as a motor for urban change and the formation of metropolitan identity,’<sup>136</sup> while in *The*

---

<sup>131</sup> Ribeiro, A., *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England*, (New Haven and London: 2005), p.39 and Note 37, p.351.

<sup>132</sup> De la Haye, Amy, and Elizabeth Wilson, *Defining Dress: dress as object, meaning and identity*, (Manchester: 1999), p.3.

<sup>133</sup> Allen, D.E., ‘Fashion as a Social Process’, *Textile History*, 22/2, (1991), pp.347-58.

<sup>134</sup> Breward, C., *The culture of fashion: A new history of fashionable dress* (Manchester: 1995).

<sup>135</sup> De la Haye, Amy, and Elizabeth Wilson, *Defining Dress*, (Manchester: 1999), pp.5-6.

<sup>136</sup> Breward, C., *Fashioning London: Clothing and the Modern Metropolis*, (London: 2004), p. 11.

*Englishness of English Dress* Carolyn Steedman contributes to the debate on notions of the development of nationhood by questioning ‘“sartorial silence” in relation to sociological and psychoanalytical accounts of the meanings of things in the formation of the self.’<sup>137</sup>

The study of dress, according to De la Haye and Wilson, ‘has shifted to incorporate the study of the human body (which) is now explicitly understood as a social construct producing multiple meanings. Dress is clearly part of that construction of meaning.’<sup>138</sup> Instead of being perpetually condemned to superficial and cliché-ridden hemline histories, dress history is finally free to develop its own methodologies. This freedom, however, comes with a warning. Lou Taylor comments that,

the energy that Cultural Studies approaches have injected into dress history/dress studies...raises specific new problems as it is seen to have contributed to a shift of interest away from garments to text and theory...[which] may indicate that within the field of Cultural Studies critical theory is also seen as far more academically weighty than object-based study of garments.<sup>139</sup>

Aileen Ribeiro also warns against the dangers of the ‘straightjacket of theory’ and recommends that a flexible approach should be used, based on ‘an overlapping series of assessments and interpretations with the object, what is actually worn, firmly and constantly in mind’.<sup>140</sup> Diana Crane suggests a broadly based, open-minded attitude to interdisciplinary research:

Clothes as artefacts ‘create’ behaviour. Too often in studies of various forms of culture, consumption, meaning, space and production are considered separately. As a result, our understanding of how cultural forms influence and are influenced by their social contexts is greatly reduced.<sup>141</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup> Steedman, C., in Breward, C., B. Conekin and C. Cox, (eds), *The Englishness of English Dress*, (Oxford and New York: 2002), p. 8.

<sup>138</sup> De la Haye, Amy, and Elizabeth Wilson, *Defining Dress*, (Manchester: 1999), p.3.

<sup>139</sup> Taylor, L., *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: 2002), p.83.

<sup>140</sup> Ribeiro, A., ‘Re-Fashioning Art: Some visual approaches to the Study of the History of Dress’, *Fashion Theory*, 2/4, (1998), 315-26, quoted in G. Riello, *A Foot in the Past: Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: 2006), p.6.

<sup>141</sup> Crane, D., *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: class, gender and identity in clothing*, (Chicago: 2000), p. 238.

While Riello, aiming to combine a traditional economic-history analysis with the methodology of the history of dress, notes,

Historians must integrate the findings derived from the study of material culture into their archive-based and theory-led research. Objects or artefacts (what historians call goods and commodities) need to be used as primary sources...Historians are liable to miss important factors while focusing only on abstract terms.<sup>142</sup>

In a 1993 paper Ann Smart Martin suggests consumption research can help discern,

the meanings people give to objects, the whole process of acquisition, notions of taste, style, social competition, the emotional pleasure derived from material objects, and symbolic product values and indeed help us examine the shifts in intellectual feelings about the core relationships between humans, goods and society.<sup>143</sup>

Such relationships are demonstrated in an exemplary manner by the close analysis of items of clothing itemised in the diaries of Mrs. Shackleton of West Yorkshire.

Amanda Vickery's publication, *The Gentleman's Daughter: women's lives in Georgian England*, also challenges academic 'distain' for the study of fashion. By the use of thirty-nine surviving diaries and a full range of archival research Vickery places her subject, family, and friends firmly in their social milieu, and examines their dress, appearance, behaviour, and attitudes. She notes the re-use of textiles, partly from a desire not to waste, partly for fondness, 'Made me a working bag of my pritty red and white linen gown,' and three years later, 'Made a cover for the dressing drawers of my pritty red and white linen gown.' On another occasion she made a pincushion from, 'A piece of coat belonging to my own dear child Tom.' Such evidence reveals the way in which mere pieces of cloth can become imbued with the affection felt for the original owner. The recording and appreciation of such minutiae of human behaviour grant a wider understanding of material culture far removed from traditional approaches, when history concentrated on the 'important' subjects of politics and religion, and dress history was frocks and smocks in museum cases.

---

<sup>142</sup> Riello, G., *A Foot in the Past*, (Oxford: 2006), p.6.

<sup>143</sup> Smart Martin, Ann, 'Makers, Buyers and Users – consumerism as a material culture framework', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 28, 2/4, Summer/ Autumn (1993), pp. 142-143.

## The Relevance of Haberdashery

Dress history remains one of the great challenges to historians; dress being in itself both a cause and a result of changing and developing societies. As the historiography confirms, the subject, in all its complexities, can be used in an almost unlimited variety of ways to examine a multitude of facets of society and its changes through time. There are now many studies of particular aspects of dress: histories of regional dress,<sup>144</sup> and of ethnic costumes;<sup>145</sup> studies discussing dress century-by-century,<sup>146</sup> studies of gendered clothing,<sup>147</sup> of generic garments,<sup>148</sup> of fashion clothing,<sup>149</sup> of footwear,<sup>150</sup> and even of specific garments of named people.<sup>151</sup> Additionally, histories abound covering the materials from which garments were, or are, constructed together with their manufacturers.<sup>152</sup> Yet there are still areas that are relatively unexplored.

Despite all the encouraging steps forward in the acceptance of research and comment in the general areas of dress, little has yet been done about the small but essential area of haberdashery, its involvement in changes in clothing, and indeed changes in

---

<sup>144</sup> For example Anderson, D.N., *Glasgow through the Looking Glass: History of a city seen through its costume*, (Milngavie: 1982); Jarvis, A., *Liverpool Fashion: its makers and wearers; the dressmaking trade in Liverpool, 1830-1940*, (Liverpool: 1981); Baumgarten, L., *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*, (New Haven and London: 2002).

<sup>145</sup> See for example the works and collections of Estella Canziani (1887-1964) held by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, and that of Edith Durham (1863-1944) at the Bankfield Museum, Halifax.

<sup>146</sup> See Ribeiro, A., *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789*, (New Haven and London: 2002).

<sup>147</sup> For example Byrde, P., *The Male Image*, (London: 1979); Waugh, N., *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930*, (London: 1968).

<sup>148</sup> For example Kutchta, D.M., ' "Graceful, Virile and Useful": The Origins of the Three Piece Suit', *Dress*, Volume 17, (1990), pp.118-126; Buck, A., 'The Countryman's Smocks,' *Folk Life*, 1, (1963), pp.16-34.

<sup>149</sup> Breward, C., *The culture of fashion: A new history of fashionable dress*, (Manchester and New York: 1995).

<sup>150</sup> For example Riello, G., *A Foot in the Past*, (Oxford: 2006); Benstock, S., and S, Ferriss, (eds), *Footnotes: On shoes*, (New Brunswick: 2001); Steele, V., *Shoes: A Lexicon of Style*, (New York: 1999).

<sup>151</sup> Tarrant, N.E.A., 'Lord Sheffield's Banyan', *Costume*, Volume 11, (1977), pp.92-97; Arnold, J., 'Jane Lambarde's Mantle', *Costume*, Volume 14, (1980), pp.56-72.

<sup>152</sup> Buck, A., *Thomas Lester, his lace and the East Midlands industry 1820-1905*, (Bedford: 1981); Rothstein, N., *Silk designs of the Eighteenth Century: in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, (London: 1990).

society. Regardless of its absolute necessity, most haberdashery is mentioned merely as a footnote to other work, and while it would be fanciful to suppose that developments in haberdashery changed the world, some changes, even trivial improvements in the fastening of garments, made alterations to daily life. Discarding points in favour of hooks and eyes, for example, or altering from pinning to buttoning, made changes, sometimes life threatening changes, to the producers of small wares.

Christopher Breward finds the study of dress and fashion 'still to be marginal to wider design-historical concerns' but believes that assessment of 'clothing and fashion has finally become a vehicle for debates that now lie at the heart of visual and material culture studies,'<sup>153</sup> as in publications such as Carolyn Sargentson's *Merchants and Luxury Markets*,<sup>154</sup> for example, which deals with the items sold by particular mercers and the environment of luxury shops in Paris, and Daniel Roche's *The Culture of Clothing*. In his study of dress in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Roche discusses general approaches to the history of dress, locates the subject within current French historiography, and uses a large sample of inventories to explore the differences between the various social classes in the amount they spent on clothes and the kind of clothes they wore.<sup>155</sup> Giorgio Riello believes the history of dress is emerging 'from being the Cinderella of academic research to recognition as a fundamental ingredient in the melting pot that combines "classic" historical analyses, material culture studies, and object based research.'<sup>156</sup> But he notes that the subject of footwear has until now, like haberdashery, 'been considered as a marginal accessory.'<sup>157</sup> The strength of his work, *A Foot in the Past*, grounded in the current new approach to dress analysis, is his ability to draw successfully on different branches of economic, social and cultural history.

---

<sup>153</sup> Breward, C., 'Cultures, Identities: fashioning a cultural approach to dress,' *Fashion Theory*, 2. 4. December (1998), p. 305.

<sup>154</sup> Sargentson, C., *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (London: 1996).

<sup>155</sup> Roche, D., *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, (1989), (Cambridge: 1994).

<sup>156</sup> Riello, G., *A Foot in the Past: Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century*, (Oxford: 2006), p.10.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*, p.1.

To date works on haberdashery are limited to treatises on the history of manufacture of buttons, of lace and, to a lesser extent, of ribbons, pins and needles.<sup>158</sup> Egan and Pritchard minutely detail their haberdashery and clothing accessories in *Medieval Finds* but on an archaeological rather than a cultural footing.<sup>159</sup> Rozsika Parker in *The Subversive Stitch* deals tellingly with female repression through the imposition of the moral duty of embroidery, the dulling of creativity through the increasing use of patterns, and the eventual disposal of worked items as personal or charity gifts.<sup>160</sup> None of these address the fundamental nature of the goods involved, although Carolyn Steedman, in a sensitive and empathetic piece, touches most nearly on the issue in her discussion of nationhood, when she briefly refers to the small items detailed in her text,

Why do we not understand the plated buckles...nor the paper (hat) box...nor the new painted gown...as vehicles of English national identity?... (W)e should ask the questions of those mass-produced items – buckles, buttons, fancy paperwork – whose production process might be only dimly understood...where people you would never meet sewed on the same scarlet buttons and fixed the same plated buckles to their shoes. *Can* mass-produced items of clothing and haberdashery produce a notion – in this case an idea of Englishness – through innumerable acts of imagining others, rather like you, dressing themselves up with all these lovely little things?<sup>161</sup>

Roche noted that a ‘history of consumer objects must be set in the context of contemporary debates and ideas, the uses and symbolism of objects in daily life, and their place in the identities of individuals, families and groups. Even the most ordinary objects could convey ingenuity, choice and culture.’<sup>162</sup> Haberdashery, which includes some of those ‘most ordinary objects,’ as well as goods that were ‘luxuries to

---

<sup>158</sup> See for example Houart, V., *Buttons: A Collector's Guide*, (London and Ontario: 1977); (Company production), *Berisfords - The Ribbon People*, (York: 1966); Hunt, J., *Pinmakers to the World: the Newey Group*, (London: 1989); Stanley, E.G. (1914), ‘Directions for making many sorts of laces’, in *Chaucer and Middle English Studies*, Rowland, B. (ed.) (London: 1974); Levey, S., *Lace: A History*, (London: 1983).

<sup>159</sup> Egan G. and F. Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories. 1150-1450*, (London: 1991).

<sup>160</sup> Parker, R., *The Subversive Stitch: embroidery and the making of the feminine*, (London: 1984).

<sup>161</sup> Steedman, C., ‘Englishness, Clothes and Little Things,’ in *The Englishness of English Dress*, C. Breward, B. Conekin and C. Cox, (eds), (Oxford and New York: 2002), p.31.

<sup>162</sup> Roche, D., *A History of Everyday Things*, quoted in Berg, M., and H. Clifford, (eds), *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe 1650-1850*, (Manchester: 1999), p.68.

their consumers,’<sup>163</sup> and did indeed convey ingenuity, choice, and culture, must be studied as an important component in the history of dress, relevant to almost every level of society in early modern England.

## The challenge of haberdashery: the hidden necessity and the flaunted image

Until approximately thirty or forty years ago, the thrust of historical interest in the early modern period can be seen to concentrate on the middling and upper strata of society, being particularly concerned with the power and influence of such society on developments in social and economic history, and relying largely on documentary evidence. Following nineteenth-century examples such as Halliwell<sup>164</sup> who illustrated the ‘domestic manner of the English’ through inventories dealing with ‘pictures, tapestries, plate, etc.,’ the assumption was that before 1800 or so, choice and consumption of goods was the prerogative of the rich. Such assumptions were firmly held until eventually challenged by McKendrick *et al* in the 1980s.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore, until comparatively recent times, on those occasions when objects rather than documents were used as evidence, standard historical works concentrated on the ‘heavyweight’ artefacts, like metal wares or furniture, which have best withstood the depredations of time.<sup>166</sup> These more robust, tangible, links with the past, with their rather masculine emphasis, were viewed by historians as the primary indicators of social progress, from the standpoint of both production and of consumption.

Despite the considerable documentary evidence demonstrating the contemporaneous importance attached to clothing, many twentieth-century historians have, like

---

<sup>163</sup> Berg, M., and H. Clifford, (eds), *Consumers and Luxury*, (Manchester: 1999), p.66.

<sup>164</sup> Halliwell, James O., *Ancient Inventories of Furniture, Pictures, Tapestries, Plate, etc. illustrative of the domestic Manner of the English in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century*, (London: 1854).

<sup>165</sup> McKendrick, N., J. Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of A Consumer Society*, (London: 1982).

<sup>166</sup> For example Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, France and Holland*, (New Haven and London: 1978).

Trevelyan, held the opinion that clothing is a trivial subject, to be classed with 'women's interests' and worthy of only cursory mention. Yet a wide range of documents exists demonstrating several aspects of contemporary attitudes to clothing, with examples as varied as the clothing instructions to his daughter by Geoffroy de la Tour-Landry in 1361,<sup>167</sup> and the clothes and haberdashery shopping orders to a London agent contained in the Purefoy letters of the mid-eighteenth century,<sup>168</sup> to the numerous and humorous garment references in the ballads of the ordinary people collected by F.W. Fairholt.<sup>169</sup> The omission of this wealth of information reflects poorly on past historical research, and indeed on some present-day works of reference. By deliberately excluding consideration of the basic daily act of clothing the body and the meanings attached to items of dress, historians have refused to consider information entirely pertinent to their historical subject.

The marginalizing of clothing, and the consequential obscuring of haberdashery, is not simply a gender issue of course; there have also been charges that the quantity and quality of clothing as evidence make it an unreliable source. These can be countered, even though it is undeniable that, despite careful treatment, it is the nature of fabric to decompose and so eventually disappear. Although good quality garments of the wealthy were treasured for their intrinsic worth, both by the initial and the subsequent owners, with the result that some items are still extant, such survivors can only be regarded as an arbitrary sample, which may or may not be representative of their type or period.<sup>170</sup> Indeed the actual survival indicates that some special factor appertaining to that item has assisted its continued existence, thus rendering it atypical.<sup>171</sup>

Baumgarten poses the questions that beset every curator of dress:

Was a particular outfit daily wear, or was it specialized for an occupation or an out-of-the-ordinary occasion? Did many people wear a garment type, or was it the

---

<sup>167</sup> Tour-Landry, Geoffroy de la, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry, 1361*, Wright, Thomas (tr.) Early English Text Society, (London: 1868).

<sup>168</sup> Eland, G., (ed.), *Purefoy Letters, 1735-1753*, Vol.II, (London: 1931).

<sup>169</sup> Fairholt, F.W. (ed.), *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, (London: 1849).

<sup>170</sup> Chartres, J.A., 'Internal trade in England', *Studies in economic and social history*, (London and Basingstoke: 1977), warned against 'attributing to the survival of data an undue weight,' p.9.

<sup>171</sup> Small size, for example, would make an item less likely to be used as second and third-hand wear; similarly, a garment which was not a success may have survived intact through lack of wear, but may not be a good example of the style.



choice of an individual? Does a piece of clothing reach a museum collection because everyone wore one like it, or because almost nobody did? Such questions are challenging enough when studying present times and people, and even more so when looking back hundreds of years.<sup>172</sup>

It is also true that no surviving article of clothing from an earlier period is now in the same state as when it was made. Deliberately concealed alterations, adaptations, and additions, together with unavoidable variations in colour and texture caused by time and wear, will have wrought inevitable change, and twentieth-century conservation can only slow eventual disintegration. Such modified garments can only be viewed as a corrupted source. However, if approached constructively and read as a picture to which successive artists have contributed, such an item can reveal much more about changes in society and the era through which it has survived than the most perfect unchanging ceramic item ever could. In addition, the more frequently a garment is changed the more haberdashery wares are employed, and the more evidence remains of their use.<sup>173</sup>

It is further admitted that although there are extant scraps and objects from earlier periods, such as those discussed in *Medieval finds from excavations in London*,<sup>174</sup> whole garments do not survive in any quantity for the purposes of examination and comparison until the mid- to late eighteenth century and even then they are very difficult to date. Clothes of working men and women rarely survived, and in any case often consisted of garments passed down from the better off, or purchased second hand.<sup>175</sup> The clothing of the poor was worn to destruction, eventually being used or

---

<sup>172</sup> Baumgarten, L., *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*, (New Haven and London: 2002), p.212.

<sup>173</sup> A very basic alteration can be seen on a woman's open robe at Blaise Castle House Museum, Bristol, reference T3072. The dress, dated at about 1785, has had its skirt reset at the back to reflect the fashion in the 1790s for straight, higher waistlines. The LINDFIELD Account and Letterbook 1621 WSRO 18.007, has an entry in 1661 which records: 'ffor making my sute of my Cloke.'

<sup>174</sup> Crowfoot, E., F.Pritchard and K.Staniland, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 4. Textiles and Clothing c.1150-c.1450*, (London: 1992).

<sup>175</sup> See papers published following the International Convention C.I.S.S.T., Milan, Feb.26-8, (1990), Lemire, B., 'The Nature of the Second-Hand Clothes Trade: the Role of Popular Fashion and Demand in England, c.1700-1850', and Zander Seidel, J., 'Ready-to -Wear Clothing in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: New Ready-Made Garments and Second-Hand Clothes Trade'. [Edifir. Edizioni Firenze s.r.l. (1991)]. Also Lemire, B., 'Consumption in Pre-Industrial and Early Industrial England: the Second hand clothes trade', *Journal of British Studies*, 27. (1988).

profitably disposed of as rags for paper or stuffing.<sup>176</sup> As noted by Margaret Spufford in *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, her exhaustive enquiries in English and Scottish costume collections met with the response that ‘working clothes of the seventeenth century and eighteenth century are virtually non-existent’. A single example exists of the complete set of clothes, still with more than seventy buttons, worn by a working-man in Gunnister, Shetland, in the late-seventeenth century, preserved by chance following his untimely death and burial in a peat bog.<sup>177</sup> Of the few other early pieces, Blaise Castle House Museum in Bristol has two examples of men’s outer coats of probably the early-eighteenth century, very home-tailored in appearance and made of coarse woollen cloth.<sup>178</sup>

Opinions differ on the reliability of literature and its counterpart, painting, as evidence of dress in history. Painters in certain periods, such as the early Jacobean, produced an ‘almost obsessive concentration on the details of dress and accessories,’ while the works of van Dyck, Lely and Kneller make ‘the lot of the dress historian harder, since there are, from the second half of the period, relatively few portraits with a detailed depiction of dress when compared to the popularity of loose draperies in art.’<sup>179</sup> There are relatively few portraits of servants and those that do exist, as Marcia Pointon notes, ‘often portray the subject in old age, suggestive of an honour reserved for elderly retainers.’<sup>180</sup> In addition, England does not have a tradition for detailed pictures of the humble sort, at least not until Hogarth in the mid-eighteenth century. For such works we have to look elsewhere, to Germany and the Netherlands in particular, and the works of Brueghel and Durer.

---

<sup>176</sup> ‘It’m halfe an hundred of lynnen raggs to make pap’ ..xiiijd’. Inventory of John Paice of Winchester, haberdasher, HRO1603 A40/1-2. ‘5 C Raggs..£1.5s.0d, grocer’s inventory in Arundel, WSRO 1719 HORNE. In 1755 Thomas Turner, shopkeeper, received £16 16s 0d for four bags of rags weighing 11 cwt 2qr 17 lbs, sold at Maidstone Fair. Vaisey, D., *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765*, (Oxford: 1984), p.166.

<sup>177</sup> Illustrated in Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, (London: 1984), p.130 and Plates 15-17.

<sup>178</sup> Blaise Castle Museum, Bristol. Refs TC2/NH 821, and TC3.

<sup>179</sup> Ribeiro, A., *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England*, (New Haven and London: 2005), p.17.

<sup>180</sup> Pointon, M., *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New Haven and London: 1993), p.17.

Nevertheless, a combination of selected documentary and pictorial sources can be used to augment the details where ephemeral materials have severely deteriorated or do not exist, and herein lies the strategy of this study. While the use of all these sources must of course be governed by the usual allowances for bias, and manipulation of information, and subjected to rigorous methodological questioning, when taken together they can provide a considerable quantity of material with which to redress the balance of a lack of extant clothing. As detailed below (1.2) a combination of sources will be employed to demonstrate the clothing expectations of different social groups, together with some of the ways in which garments were obtained and maintained. By means of this evidence I will show the availability of both the necessary and the more luxurious wares in different parts of the country, and demonstrate that haberdashery goods were of considerable significance to producers, retailers and consumers in the early modern period in England.

## Part 2. Methodology

In the more recent tradition of historical research it is proposed to determine the importance of haberdashery wares through a diversity of source material: to examine the production, availability, retailing and use of haberdashery through documentary evidence, such as retailers' inventories, advertising methods, diaries and account books, and where possible through extant examples.

### Selection of Source Material

The empirical evidence being used is aimed to synthesise three areas: documentary, visual and tactile. My preliminary investigation had established the proposed documentary sources – inventories, diaries, and wills - as pertinent and accessible in a number of record offices.<sup>181</sup> Other possible sources - trade cards, books of rates, patents, statutes - required further assessment for suitability, and for availability in meaningful quantities, while geographical areas on which to focus attention had yet to be chosen.

### Focus Counties

The criteria for selecting sites for empirical study had to be very carefully considered; regions that would best exhibit contrasts and differences were determined as follows. Areas to be examined from the production point of view needed to include those with local industries connected with, or relative to, the manufacture of haberdashery wares. To assess the impact of changes in fabrication, selected counties should contain a mix of old established towns, like Coventry, and newly developing ones, such as Manchester. For focusing on the provision of wares there should be places both close to London and at a distance from it, also districts with contrasting densities of market towns and retail outlets. Consideration should be given to regions having different

---

<sup>181</sup> Hamilton, P., 'Revolution in Consumption? Haberdashery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Wolverhampton, (1991).

types of terrain, with contrasting transport facilities both locally and nationally, and possibly with a maritime coast.

Thought was also given as to which areas would demonstrate an anticipated difference in use of wares, for example regions of larger scale agricultural use and wealthy landlords, and others with growing industry. On a practical level, each region needed to have a County Record Office organised so that empirical evidence was adequately calendared and accessible without too much expenditure of time, and which would allow either photocopying or photography of documents at minimum cost.

The regions finally selected were Westmorland, Cumbria and Lancashire in the north; Warwickshire and Leicestershire in the Midlands; Hampshire and West Sussex in the south, together with London. To summarise: the sample thus included two counties important for the manufacture of haberdashery smallwares (Lancashire and Warwickshire); two others peripherally involved with clothing (Cumbrian textiles and Leicestershire stockings); and two wealthy merchant/maritime counties situated near London (Hampshire and Sussex). Several developing industrialising towns were included, most notably Birmingham and Manchester, and a number of ancient ones, including Winchester, Carlisle, and Warwick. The ratio of market towns to acreage within each county ratio was wide (1:48,000 in Cumbria; 1:21,000 in Sussex), and transport varied between very poor (Cumbria) and good (Hampshire), relative in part, to their contrasting terrain. There was also variation in agricultural and industrial specialisation with a potential for the development of differing social attitudes and expectations. The southern region seemed to offer the greatest opportunity for the investigation of consumer potential, while London acted as an importer, a supplier, a consumer and, most importantly, the focus and stimulus of fashion changes.

## The Sources

### Inventories

Information for the period 1550 to the mid-1700s was collected from probate inventories of retailers. Although the system for finding and selecting inventories for this work varied slightly from county to county as the organisation and calendaring differed between record offices - and indeed between the original record makers<sup>182</sup> - the overall method followed the same route. Having established in the initial selection of focus counties that each record office had an appropriate means of listing the inventories held there, together with some guide to the trade of the deceased, the initial task was to identify the names and references for documents of possible interest and subsequently to examine them. It was decided jointly with *The Dictionary Project*<sup>183</sup> that the conventional methods of random selection, every nth or one from every box *etcetera*, would not produce the best results. Too many hits would be irrelevant and time would be wasted. As many as possible needed to be seen at each record office and limitations were already imposed by the available time, opening hours, and the ordering and arrival of documents. Selection was made therefore through the compilation of lists drawn up from indices. Naturally haberdashers were always selected for viewing, but documents for many other tradespeople were also scrutinized for any haberdashery contained in them. For example, the list of inventories chosen from the printed calendar 1660-1680 at Preston Record Office includes the following trades: haberdasher, fustian weaver, mercer, tailor, linen webster, weaver, chapman, clothier, glover, draper, grocer, hosier, woollen webster, merchant, pedlar, feltmaker, silk weaver, thread twiner, twister, button maker, spinner, and tradesman. The common factor was that each produced or sold haberdashery wares.

---

<sup>182</sup> Some appraisers named the trade of the deceased while others did not, causing the risk of potentially informative inventories being lost to us when working from indices based on named occupations. Some inventories, particularly in London, had misleading trade titles.

<sup>183</sup> *The Dictionary Project* is a research initiative of the University of Wolverhampton intended for publication as *The Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1559-1800*. (See Introduction).

The more likely documents were examined first, haberdashers, mercers, and chapmen, together with those which might be of particular interest such as widows or gentlemen with shops, stocking sellers, and grocers. The number of inventories examined varied considerably from place to place – in Winchester about 200 were read, resulting in 63 selected for this study, while in Leicester the binding together of inventories in yearly ‘books’ allowed the rapid search of 1448 documents, ultimately giving a set of 14 inventories occurring between the years 1636 and 1708. Out of a potential 300 documents in Preston about 60 were viewed. Some transcribing was done *in situ*, when only small documents or notes were required, but for the most part photocopies were ordered or photographs taken for later transcribing.

Approximately 300 inventories were eventually collected, and transcribed into whole-text machine-readable form.<sup>184</sup> A further forty selected sections from inventories and wills were also transcribed and placed on disk. Eighty-five towns were represented covering a period from 1543 up to 1769, although due to the nationwide decline in the use of inventories from the 1720s, examples after that date were very limited in some areas. Databases were constructed to aid the storage and retrieval of data, (see below).

## Manuscript works

Other possible sources of information were also checked at the appropriate record offices, including diaries and account books, letters and papers indexed under subject headings, local directories and a small number of wills. The viewing of wills was problematic; although occasionally there were interesting and enlightening haberdashery bequests, the practicalities of finding them was too time consuming. Diaries and account books have survived in such small numbers that most were examined for clothing reference. Ten were seen at Hampshire record office, for example, together with the Banbury Papers, the Wallingford Letters and the Nollis

---

<sup>184</sup> A large proportion of these were transcribed in their entirety. The household contents were omitted from some of the very long inventories as being unnecessarily time consuming, although they were carefully examined for relevant haberdashery and smallwares detail.

Account Book from which several extracts were taken.<sup>185</sup> The fifteen collected diaries and account books, being predominantly from the early to mid-eighteenth century, fill the gap that occurs as the number of probate inventories declines from the early 1700s, and augments the collection of printed works, which become more readily available as the century progresses. It had been hoped that some of the diaries might have been written by relevant tradespeople, and by good fortune two diarists out of the collection were drapers, another one was a mercer, and a fourth was a tailor. Photocopies or photographs were taken, as appropriate, for later transcription.

## Trade Cards

Trade cards, often sporting small designs together with lists of available goods, are particularly relevant to the investigation of the traders themselves. The cards were advertisements, more akin to handbills than twentieth century business cards, often printed on good quality paper of a fair size, ranging from small octavo to large quarto.<sup>186</sup> While the reverse sides were sometimes used for hand written memoranda or receipts, they were different from printed billheads, which usually had the trade name and title at the top with a space below for transaction details. Cards with such additional notations are particularly useful, sometimes including a date together with sales information that throws light on such questions as what might be a standard quantity of a particular ware purchased for domestic use.<sup>187</sup>

Sundry collections of trade cards and other printed ephemera exist, most notably those of John Bagford, and Sir Ambrose Heal, which, together with the Banks Collection, are held in the Prints Department of the British Museum. Some cards date from as early as the mid-1600s but the most prolific period was the mid-eighteenth century. Data was also collected from cards held at the British Museum, Birmingham Reference Library, Attingham Hall, and Shropshire Records and Research. A

---

<sup>185</sup> Respectively: M88W/16, IM 44/97/1, IM44/168

<sup>186</sup> Heal, A., *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century*, (First publ. 1925), (New York: 1968); *idem*, *The Signboards of Old London Shops: A Review of the Shop Signs employed by the London Tradesmen during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, (First publ. 1957), (London: 1988).

<sup>187</sup> See example, *Appendix 6*, p.336.



number were photocopied. Many more were transcribed by hand for later entry on the database, together with a brief analysis of any pictorial element.

## Extant clothing

A number of costume collections were visited and, if permitted, photographs were taken of relevant clothing and accessories, demonstrating particular items or uses of haberdashery wares. The variety of items, their different cataloguing, storage and retrieval systems, together with museum access policies that varied from place to place, meant that there could be no single strategy for approaching the collections in costume museums. Where possible attention was first directed to the earliest and most humble items, but as discussed elsewhere, the survival of clothing is random and unpredictable with few items available from the working population and those of the 'middling sort'. Nonetheless, examining extant garments threw light on a number of points. For example, the construction and means of attaching pressed paper decorations to men's jackets; the number of different types of thread used to construct garments; and the altering of a garment from one style into another. Over four hundred photographs were taken,<sup>188</sup> with references and details recorded, and notes were made from discussions with the many helpful and enthusiastic curators.

## Newspaper advertising.

The first advertisement had appeared in an English newsbook in 1624, but it was not until 1648 that a newsbook regularly included advertisements.<sup>189</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century a weekly paper was likely to contain at most half a dozen advertisements; 100 years later a daily paper might be expected to include about fifty.<sup>190</sup>

---

<sup>188</sup> See *Illustrations*, p.347.

<sup>189</sup> Walker, R.B., 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750,' *Business History*, Vol. XV, 1, January (1973), p.113.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid*, pp.123.

Aris's Gazette, a provincial newspaper printed in Birmingham that started in the 1740s and continued with no gaps in publication to the end of the period, was examined on microfilm for haberdashery and clothing references, both in the advertisements, and in the sections detailing 'runaways' and their apparel between the years 1750 and 1790. Appropriate references were recorded on the databases, with the text entered in a memo field, (see below).

## Database Specifications

Once transcribed and saved to disc the data was entered into the databases.

The HABERDAS, TRADERS, and WARES databases carry data from the inventories.

### **HABERDAS**

**14 Fields: Reference/ S'name/ C'name/ Place/ Second place/ Year/ Month/ Job\_Inventory/ Job\_Will/ Job\_estimate/ Job\_other/ Gender/ Status/ Total.**

It was essential to construct a unique reference number for each trader, and while so doing to make that number carry useful information. The method of constructing individual references is as follows:

1. First 2 letters indicate area and whether or not that area is one on which the project is focussing. If in doubt – e.g. the town is one of several of the same name and county cannot be deduced, use AX. Also given where document is a product advert or mobile sale with no specific area. [eg. MY..... = Midlands, Yes]
2. 4 numerals represent the date, with as much information as possible stated definitively. Any uncertainties recorded in Contents Field as a comment.
3. Last 4 letters based on name of tradesman starting with the initial letter and next two consonants of surname, followed by either the initial of the Christian name or an ampersand if there is a partnership or a company. If the Christian name is not known a dash – is used. If there are not 2 consonants following the initial, use initial, consonant and final vowel in its correct place. eg. Mead = MAD, Hope = HPE.

[eg. Henry Osborn of Birmingham 1800 = MY1800OSBH]

The haberdashers' database included, of course, more traders than those so titled in their inventories, and fields were needed to indicate whether they had been designated by their appraisers, were so titled in their will or other document, or if they were untitled but their occupation deduced from their wares. 'Second place' allowed for

traders to have an alternative outlet, but there were only a very few entries in that field.

## **TRADERS**

**17 fields: As for HABERDAS, above, but also with a county field, a Record Office field, and one for administration purposes, noting photocopy arrival, transcription, and data added to database.**

TRADERS is the database carrying the data concerned with each trader in the sample, similar to the above, HABERDAS database, but larger. It continues to expand as further traders are added for the operation of *The Dictionary Project*; for the purposes of this study, the database stands at 321 individuals.

## **WARES 1 & 2**

**18 Fields: Reference/ Surname/ Place/ Population/ Year/ Job/ Thread/ Laces/ Ribbon/ Tapes/ Buttons/ Mercery/ Linen/ Woollen/ Clothes/ Hardware/ Grocery-Apothecary/ Other.**

The WARES database was constructed in two parts because at the beginning of the project the hardware being used could only cope with a certain amount of data at a time, and with eighteen fields searching each database was very slow and cumbersome. This is the least successful of the databases since, at the time of its construction, ordering and searching on specific words was not easily achieved. Field sizes were also fixed in advance; the reference field was always 10 digits, some of the wares fields were as many as 150 or more. Using a memo field for each entry could have solved the size problem, but would have been inaccessible in a general database search. In order to fit the available space, therefore, lists of goods had on occasion to be reduced to a string of abbreviated words with punctuation, making individual word searches problematic.

An example from the Thread Field might read:

Thread:col',wt',bro'.Dutch wt'/col'.piecing.Cov'bl'.

Words following a colon, separated by a comma, appeared in the inventory as the descriptors of the noun [coloured thread, white thread, brown thread]. Words following a slash were the descriptors of the noun preceding it, [Dutch white, Dutch

coloured]. Words between full stops were single entries of the field title [piecing thread], sometimes known simply by a generic term [Coventry blue].

Wares aimed for the more general grocery, apothecary and 'other' fields were less easy to abbreviate, but were thought necessary for investigating the association of goods.

## **TRADCAR**

**5 fields: Trader reference/ Contents, in a Memo field/ Description/ Record office/ Record office reference.**

The traders' unique reference numbers were formed in the same way as those of the traders from the invoices. Data from 441 trade cards was entered in the Contents Memo field together with descriptions of their illustrations. The Description field includes each trader's name, place and year date if known.

## **IMAGE**

**8 Fields: Reference/ Artist/ Year/ Title/ Source (Memo field)/ Describe (memo field)/ Gender/ Status.**

Data from the visual sources was entered in IMAGE and included paintings, both those seen in art galleries and those from slide collections and reference works, prints, and woodcuts.

The databases concerned with newspapers: NEWSPERS, NEWSOCC, NEWSSUB, and NEWSTEXT, needed careful thought for the construction, classification and references required to manage and link the considerable volume of text.

They were organised as follows:

## **NEWSOCC:**

**3 fields: Person reference/ Newspaper reference/ Occupation.**

Occupations of the named persons

### **NEWSPERS:**

**12 fields: First 4 fields concerned with reference numbers, either personal or with the newspaper reference/ Surname/ Forename/ Gender/ Status/ Place/ County/ Address, in a Memo field/ Date**

Persons named in the extracts

### **NEWSSUB:**

**3 fields: Person reference/ Subject reference / Subject of the text.**

Index of the subject matter of each entry. The subject was classified by standard headings, with further subheadings grouped by punctuation, for example:

Haberdashery; thread, stolen.

Services; refurbishment; clothing.

### **NEWSTEXT:**

**3 fields: Unique reference/ Contents, in a Memo field/ Description.**

The text of each advertisement or item. References were constructed in a similar manner to those in the other databases, that is:

region, focus county or not, year, initial letters to identify source, and individual entry number. Thus MY1752ABG001 translates as Midlands, Yes focus county, 1752, Aris's Birmingham Gazette, entry no.1.

The Description field was used for the newspaper name and date with a subject heading, while the Memo field was used for the transcription of the article or advertisement text.

Two databases were constructed from DIARIES, both from Sussex: the accounts of a family living in Lindfield 1648 - 1665, and Miss Grainger, an older lady from Tuckfield, 1778- 1787:

### **LINDFIELD**

**6 fields: Name/ Date/ Volume/ Page/ Subject/ Text, in Memo field**

320 entries under selected subject headings: accounts/ cleaning clothes/ clothes/ ex-base/ expenses/ fabric/ haberdashery/ making clothes/ shoes.

## GRAINGER

### 6 fields: As LINDFIELD above

357 entries under subject headings: clothes/ drinks/ ex-base/ fabric/ general expenses/ haberdashery/ medical/ personal/ shoes.

The grouping of entries under slightly differing headings reflects the differently emphasised concerns of the diarists.

The final database was designed to accommodate short explanatory references for items which appeared in the inventories collected from the glossaries of six publications: The Drapers Dictionary, Ashelford<sup>191</sup>, Feltwell<sup>192</sup>, King<sup>193</sup>, Ribeiro and Cumming<sup>194</sup>, Crowfoot *et al*<sup>195</sup>, combined with the OED.

## GLOSSARY

### 3 fields: Contents, in Memo field / Description/ Standard

A limited number of entries are reproduced here.

## Worksheets

Initially it was my intention to use databases almost exclusively for the analysis of the inventory sample. This would still be possible, but as the study progressed it became evident that an analysis so devised, using a necessarily disparate collection of documents, might not always be desirable. In order to capture that data which could be standardised and compared, much important information contained in these idiosyncratic documents might be lost, simply because it could not be made to comply with inflexible database fields. The problems of too much data per field, as

---

<sup>191</sup> Ashelford, J., *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*, (London: 1988).

<sup>192</sup> Feltwell, J., *The Story of Silk*, (Stroud: 1991).

<sup>193</sup> King, M., *European Textiles in the Keir Collection, 400BC-1800 AD*, (London: 1990).

<sup>194</sup> Cumming, V., *A Visual History of Costume: The Seventeenth Century*, (London: Batsford, 1984), and Ribeiro, A., *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789*, (New Haven and London: 2002).

<sup>195</sup> Crowfoot, E., F.Pritchard and K.Staniland, *Medieval finds from excavations in London, c.1150-1450: 4, Textiles and Clothing*, (London: 1992).

experienced with the WARES databases, have since been remedied for *The Dictionary Project*, but for this study I devised simple grid-system worksheets in order to overcome the difficulty. There were headed columns for hand-notating the breakdown of wares, with quantities and values from each trader in the inventories sample. What this system lost in terms of technology it gained in flexibility and in giving an at-a-glance overview of each tradesman or woman. Worksheet headings were: Clothing/ Lace/ Ribbons/ Thread/ Buttons/ Metalwares/ Laces/ Points/ Inkle/ Tape.

## Review of the Historiography and Methodology

The historiography has shown that the marginalizing of clothing, and the consequential obscuring of haberdashery, by academic and economic historians has contributed to an unbalanced and badly informed view of small wares and their importance in dress between 1550 and 1800. Although more recent works are at last debating a wide range of dress and fashion issues, the subject of haberdashery has yet to be addressed and to receive historical analysis through material culture study and object based research. The methodology indicates the approach I have used to confront the challenges of the subject in order to focus attention on this important group of wares, and to question traditionally held beliefs concerning retailers, their goods and their localities.

The next chapter will endeavour to define haberdashery, and examine a basic selection of the wares and how they were produced. This will locate haberdashery in its place in the everyday life of the early modern period, and will go some way towards identifying those items that fall into the category of necessity, and those that were desired for the creation of image.

# Chapter 2

## Haberdashery Wares

This chapter begins with the methodology pertaining to the choice and selection of sources. Part 1. briefly sets the clothing scene at the start point of this study. Part 2. examines the definition of haberdashery, and looks in detail at some specific wares.

### Methodology

Some probate inventories, particularly the earlier ones, are especially helpful in their detail. Most of those used in this chapter and the next have been selected according to the criteria specified in Chapter 1. Newspapers have also been chosen as far as possible to be relevant to the selected geographical areas and they include: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Piercy's Coventry Gazette*, *Leicester and Nottingham Journal*, *Manchester Mercury*, *Williamson's Liverpool Advertiser and the London Chronicle*.<sup>196</sup> The significant advertising is not so much that which attempts to lure customers to the shops, but that which deals with the descriptions of absconding apprentices or servants and includes details of the clothing of their subject. These are useful for the descriptions that the everyday readers were expected to understand. Trade cards, as noted in the previous chapter, are more relevant to the traders than their wares, although a few have useful extra details and are included here.

---

<sup>196</sup> Whilst I contributed to the collection and data processing of the *Aris's Gazette* section of the Newspapers database for the *Dictionary Project*, I contributed nothing to the hard work undertaken by Dr. Nancy Cox and the team on the other newspapers. I am most grateful for permission to use them.



## Part 1. Clothing trends and the influence of haberdashery

Descriptions and illustrations of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries, even allowing for artistic interpretation, indicate that the lower status groups still dressed in a comparatively uniform way adapted from the styles of several decades earlier, or else in occupation-related dress.<sup>197</sup> Previously the difference between the loose T shaped garments of the rich and the poor was mainly one of cloth and trimmings. Research shows that, while choice of style was initially only for the rich, with increasing availability style gradually became a factor in the demonstration and perception of superiority for a wider public, and it is clear that by the late-sixteenth century novelty and fashion were becoming important at every level in the market.<sup>198</sup> The foundation of what was desirable, and of those items that would make statements about wealth and status - real, intentionally deceptive, or aspirational - had been laid in the fourteenth century.<sup>199</sup>

With the new type of garments had come two developments, both significant to the use of clothing as a status indicator, and to the employment of haberdashery within the hierarchy of dress. Firstly, because the shaping of garments and edge decoration of fabric by cutting left unusable fragments, the fashion was an early manifestation of what would later be termed 'conspicuous waste'.<sup>200</sup> Secondly, the tightly fitting style necessitated larger openings in garments to allow clothes to be pulled over the body, which created a need for more fastenings. Evidence shows that although buttons were to some degree already in use before 1340 both as decoration and as practical fastenings, the popularity of large quantities of small buttons increased considerably

---

<sup>197</sup> See examples in Cunnington, P. and C. Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England*, (London: 1967).

<sup>198</sup> See for example Joan Thirsk's account of the rise of the knitted hosiery trade and the demands of young men 'from the courtier to the carter' for the 'new fangle' hose, Thirsk, J., 'The Fantastical Folly of Fashion: the English Stocking-Knitting Industry, 1500-1700', in Harte, N.B., and K.G. Ponting (eds), *Textile History and Economic History: essays in honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann*, (Manchester: 1973), pp.50-73.

<sup>199</sup> See *Appendix 1*, Dress Before the Early Modern Period, p.325, for discussion of the development of clothing.

<sup>200</sup> Veblen, Thorsten, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, (New York: 1905).

from this date in tandem with the use of laces through eyelet holes.<sup>201</sup> Veblen's term 'conspicuous consumption' – overt spending for the sake of prestige – need not only be applied to what he called the 'leisure class'. The most humble sixteenth-century cottager sporting a set of metal buttons while his neighbours were still using horn or bone was openly demonstrating his pecuniary capacity to purchase a superior item. At the same time he was displaying his ability to make choices, and to establish himself as an individual within his group. Not necessarily emulating his superiors, he was using an element in common with a higher status group to indicate his comprehension of the slightly better quality of life embodied in the decorative property of the wares, and to assert his individuality through possessions, small though they might be.

Throughout the period under investigation, in some instances clothes were the only items owned by a testator, and indeed the generalisation 'all he possessed were the clothes he stood up in' is a very familiar one. By reading testators' wills it is possible to gain insight into the regard in which some people held their possessions, despite mediation through lawyerly terminology, clerkly writing and the need for legal clarity. Although in many wills of the 'middling sort' clothing is often subsumed into general possessions, where it is specifically itemised a merit is often placed upon articles which exceeds their monetary value and tells us much more about the giver; 'my best black hat' indicates the possession of more than one hat, and possibly that there are other colours. 'My cloak new come from London', notes a quality purchase, something ordered from the capital that reflects well on the owner, a fashionable item, and in good condition. Dedications may qualify both the gift and the recipient; 'to my niece ... my worst pair of stays.' This may not of course be as insulting as it seems, merely that the giver has two pairs of which the best were willed or already given

---

<sup>201</sup> Nevinson, J. L., 'Buttons and Buttonholes in the Fourteenth Century', in *Costume*, Vol. ii, (1977), pp. 38-44. See also Bell, C.R. 'Sumptuary Legislation and English Costume', in *Costume*, Fig. XI, Vol. vi, (1972), pp.22-31, where a male figure from an English illuminated manuscript is shown with buttons down the front of his fur lined garment (British Museum London: MS Roy. 19B XV).

elsewhere, but it does tell us how the owner perceived the different qualities and assumed that the executors would also see the stays in the same light.<sup>202</sup>

Nothing else is quite such a personal possession as a garment, with its intimate relationship to the body, while conversely its appearance is primarily aimed for public survey. People rarely dress entirely to please themselves, but they will clothe themselves because they anticipate being seen by other people. Naturally there are exceptions to this rule; some garments may be selected deliberately to be worn only in private, or simply for 'decency', but in general it is expected that clothing will be subjected to the scrutiny of others. 'The most important aspect of clothing is the way it looks: all other considerations are occasional and conditional' says Anne Hollander, '...Clothes create at least half the look of any person at any moment'.<sup>203</sup> Stylistic changes are forced on purchasers, even if they never intentionally follow fashion or conventional style, simply because as new styles supersede, the old become unavailable. Even more importantly, people learn the acceptable way to look from observing and copying other people. Aided by visual representations, even those of the basic broadsheet woodcuts of the sixteenth century, individuals would absorb information and adapt trends in dress that shaped the overall look of the period. Clothing reflects the wearer, and his or her time, in ways not available from any other source, and it is for this reason that clothes can be used as a means to clarify some of the many issues of consumption in the early modern period.

After the economic and religious unrest of the middle Tudor period, followed the golden age of England, large classes, freed as never before from poverty, felt the upspring of the spirit...Peace and order at last prevailed in the land, even during the sea-war with Spain. Politics...were for a few decades simplified into service paid to a woman, who was to her subjects the symbol of their unity, prosperity and freedom.<sup>204</sup>

The Elizabethan court was well known for its extravagance; the entertainments, the arts, the luxury, the clothing, but the implications are that even at the lower end of Harrison's 'degrees of folk' people had sufficient surplus funds to purchase goods

---

<sup>202</sup> These extracts are all from the will of BOWNESS Ann, of Coulby, Westmorland, March 1746. CRO Carlisle 1746 Bowness.

<sup>203</sup> Hollander, A., *Seeing Through Clothes*, (Berkley and London: 1978), p.314 and *passim*.

<sup>204</sup> Trevelyan, G.M., *Illustrated English Social History*: 2, (Harmondsworth: 1964), p.15.

rather than rely on exchange and barter. Joan Thirsk's 'Policy and Projects' traces the development of traders able to produce items, such as stockings, within an organised system of supply and demand.<sup>205</sup> Could producers of smallwares offer an opportunity for choice across the economic spectrum, aiding the demonstration of individuality through expressions of personal taste and following the dictates of fashion, but at a fraction of the cost of a new garment? This study, which begins in the period shortly before the accession of Elizabeth I, will demonstrate that haberdashery should be credited with holding a far more important position in the hierarchy of possessions, both for the producers and the users, than has formerly been acknowledged.

## Part 2. Definition of Haberdashery: the wares

It must be acknowledged that the term 'haberdashery' admits to a considerable degree of flexibility. Although this study concentrates on haberdashery smallwares, as opposed to hatting, it will be seen that both the wares, and the perceptions of what was meant by the word, changed through the period under consideration.

The rather imprecise nature of the subject presents something of a challenge when attempting to define the area of investigation. It is not that the items in themselves were anything other than tangible artefacts, sometimes basic, and made by down-to-earth craftspeople. It is rather that two important regions are particularly elusive - firstly, the identification of those wares which were generally understood to fall under the heading 'haberdashery'; and secondly, the intangible quality which gave the wares a meaning over and above their functional purposes, leading to their becoming small 'objects of desire'.

An attempt to confine the field of study by adopting a sample list of wares would impose the constraint of a twentieth/twenty-first century concept of haberdashery, hazy though that may be, and would unavoidably distort the results. Strict adherence to an imposed definition might also exclude those marginal retail activities which,

---

<sup>205</sup> Thirsk, Joan, *Economic Policy and Projects, The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, (Cambridge: 1979).

allied to the subject of the investigation, help demonstrate the growth of consumerism. Growth, that is, evinced not by the more frequently studied larger items and markets, the cloth and metal wares for example, but by those items of potentially equal significance with their wide variety of uses and implications: the smallwares and their various retailers.

It is interesting to note that the editors of the OED are reluctant to commit themselves to a more contemporary listing of the actual items of sewing and clothing construction currently understood by the word 'haberdashery'. Having described haberdashery as 'the goods or wares sold by a haberdasher', the definition of the haberdasher's 'small articles appertaining to dress' is confined to 'thread, tape, ribbons, etc.'<sup>206</sup> It indicates that perhaps more than most other trades, goods retailed under the title of haberdashery did not readily crystallise into a regularised stock list. Instead they retained certain fluidity, affected by the availability of supply, adjusted by the retailer to suit his customers, and always perceived by those customers as a variable collection of sundries that would usually include a small range of specific items. The good haberdasher must have had many characteristics in common with the shopkeeper William Stout, always keeping an eye on what event might be coming up, what might be coming into favour, what would be a good thing to have by, how might the customer best be served.<sup>207</sup> Another example, which will be examined more closely in the next chapter, is the account book/diary of Mr. Southcomb of Devon who, around the year 1724, supplied an astonishing variety of smallwares to far-flung customers<sup>208</sup>

A further complexity to the study of haberdashery is that wares generally accepted as coming under the heading cross over manufacturing and retail boundaries in ways that do not affect other trades. The available sources for the study of haberdashery are therefore as widespread as the numerous producing and retailing trades that were concerned with smallwares. The goods were a combination of small metalwares together with items of textile or other origins, sometimes involving several materials

---

<sup>206</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, (Oxford: 1994).

<sup>207</sup> Marshall, J. D., (ed.), *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752*, (New York: 1967).

<sup>208</sup> Exeter R.O. Southcomb Diary, c1724, Z19/36/21.

in the final product. For the manufacture of 'gold lace', for example, a spun silk thread had first to be covered with a twist of finely drawn metal thread, while many different types of button were made from a combination of metal and textile materials, not to mention horn and wood.<sup>209</sup>

Indeed the most basic sewing items of pins, needles and thread originate from very different materials, skills, and manufacturing areas but had to be used together and, despite their disparity, were sold together. Such items were not considered the speciality of a sole retail trade, as can be seen by their inclusion in inventories of several different types of retailer. Indeed, because of the widespread nature of their connections, goods belonging to the genre of 'haberdashery' were, as will be seen in the following chapter, probably sold by a wider range of retailers than any other wares, thus challenging the O.E.D. inference that haberdashery can be defined by its retailer.<sup>210</sup>

The first surviving, but enigmatic, documentation of haberdashery is in thirteenth-century Anglo-French customs lists.<sup>211</sup> During that century the word became established as a collective noun for particular types of mixed wares; mainly small items, often connected with clothing, and more frequently for personal rather than household use. But although certain sorts of wares were referred to as 'haberdashery' even when sold by other tradespeople, it should not be assumed that this defined the contemporary perception of what was likely to be sold by a haberdasher. In fact the types of goods generally associated with the term were originally sold by mercers, who continued to stock such items, along with their specialist silks and luxury wares, despite the development of traders specialising in the retail of haberdashery from the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>212</sup> By the 1550s comparison between the traded goods of so

---

<sup>209</sup> Contemporary descriptions of these processes are to be found in Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman*, 1747, (Newton Abbot: reprint, 1969).

<sup>210</sup> Haberdashery wares, in quantities more likely to indicate being present for sale rather than use, have been found in inventories of 13 differently titled retailers.

<sup>211</sup> 'hapertas, of unknown origin, perh. the name of a fabric, which occurs in an Anglo-Fr. customs list of imported peltry, furs, and fabrics, where a parallel and nearly contemporary list has haberdassherie. But the English word may, from its date and sense, be a back-formation from HABERDASHER, and hapertas may be only a bad AF. spelling of it.' *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, (Oxford: 1994).

<sup>212</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of The Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), pp.2-3.

called haberdashers and of other retailers, for example mercers, chapmen and grocers, shows considerable overlap, demonstrating that the wares themselves were not considered the prerogative of one particular trade.

The trade of the haberdasher was from the beginning principally concerned with retail rather than manufacture, gathering together and selling on the goods made by other workers. The range of wares present even in early haberdashers' inventories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, shows that although some haberdashers may have been concerned with producing some of their stock, they could only have made a small percentage of it. Indeed port books of the City of London, together with contemporary comment, show that considerable quantities of haberdashery wares were being imported, often to the detriment of English artisans' trade. The fact that such manufacturing guilds as the Cappers, Pursers, Pouchmakers, Hatters and Pinners all pre-dated that of the Haberdashers, to whom they supplied wares, further indicates the chronological development of the retail trade.<sup>213</sup>

It is possible to say that 'haberdashery' provided the generic term for particular types of traded wares, but it is only possible to show those items which might have been included under that heading. Perceptions of what constituted haberdashery were subjective; inventories indicate that there was a general understanding of the term and its manner of use but that it was not always necessary to include or exclude specific items. For example, the inventory of a London haberdasher, Chaplin, in 1669,<sup>214</sup> detailed three types of yarn and thread among his shop goods together with two sorts of inkle and a cord, yet after a reference to paper and pasteboard, the appraiser then added 'and haberdashery wares'. Similarly, in Eling, Hampshire, a merchant tailor who died in 1702 was inventoried as having silk thread and silver lace, cotton ribbons, two sorts of button, several types of fabric and small ready made clothes, plus 'haberdashery ware.' In these instances the term appears to be used as a catch-all given to the odds and ends that did not fit into the other groups or which were too small in quantity to be valued individually. But it also seems as though the appraisers

---

<sup>213</sup> Cappers: late-thirteenth century; Pursers: 1327; Pouchmakers: 1339; Hatters: 1347; Pinners: 1356, in Archer, Ian W., *The History of The Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p.8.

<sup>214</sup> PRO, London. Orphans Inventories, 556.

did not consider the thread, lace, buttons and ribbons as haberdashery since they did not say 'more' or 'other' haberdashery wares. Needles, pins and tape are the only common haberdashery type wares not itemised here, so were they the additional wares these two appraisers classed as 'haberdashery'? In other words, having detailed several things that might be expected to have been subsumed into the generic term, was the generic term being additionally employed to cover other items, or did these appraisers actually have a different perception of what should come under the title of 'haberdashery'? While this might be considered rather unlikely, it does illustrate the need to keep an open mind about contemporary perceptions.

Whilst avoiding the dangers inherent in working to an imposed list of wares, and accepting that there was no such thing as an average haberdashery tradesman, it is still possible to establish a core group of goods common to most of the retailers selling haberdashery wares. A summary of the most regularly occurring items sold by a vendor of smallwares in the early modern period would include the following items: a variety of different sizes, qualities and weights of thread; pins and needles; trimmings, such as tapes; galloons, lace, ribbons, ferrets and inkles; and fastenings, including hooks and eyes, buttons, buckles, laces, and points. In addition many haberdashery retailers also stocked small ready-made items such as handkerchiefs, hosiery, caps, cuffs, collars and gloves, and some had a quantity of fabrics.

It is tempting to attempt to classify this motley selection of wares into two groups; items that are practical, such as thread, and those which are decorative, like ribbon – the necessity and the image. However a third category would soon be found necessary for those items which can simultaneously be practical and decorative, such as buttons. Perhaps even a fourth might be created for wares, which altered their role through time. Points for example, changed from being practical, but optionally decorative, to being purely decorative; while pins reversed the process, shifting from being originally for display, to becoming the most functional and the least decorative item of all. Indeed when considering the articles in functional terms and examining the job which is required of them, it becomes immediately apparent that most, if not all the items, serve a dual role; a practical one and a less tangible one, related to appearance but also carrying a hidden meaning.



## Points and Laces

Inventory and pictorial evidence indicates that laces, that is the functional items used to tie together independent parts of clothing, remained a feature of clothing for well over half the period of this study, although the task they performed changed considerably. Laces of silk or linen thread or of leather were used from at least the thirteenth century.<sup>215</sup> The practical purpose was to effect closure of a gap in the garment. However, an illustration from the twelfth-century Winchester Psalter depicts the devil apparently wearing a laced up gown with a chape depicted at one end of the lace.<sup>216</sup> This pictorial association of the devil with the innovation of fastening and shaping garments closely to the body is thought to represent a critical comment on the new fashion. Worn by the young and wealthy and associated with the new romantic fashion, such laces would initially have represented far more than a simple means of fastening.

The contemporary name, point laces, became contracted to 'points', as mentioned in a London haberdasher's inventory of 1378.<sup>217</sup> To facilitate the threading of laces through eyelet holes and to prevent fraying, the raw ends could be covered with metal chapes, also called 'aglets' or 'aiguillettes'. Tangible evidence of laces, which would otherwise have disappeared, is shown in archaeological sites by the survival of chapes containing fragments of leather or textile,<sup>218</sup> but not all laces were point tipped. The aforementioned London haberdasher's stock included both 'one gross of poynts of red leather, at 18d' and '2 dozens of laces of red leather, at 8d'. By the 1580s thread and leather points could be bought for much the same price, but in the early-seventeenth century leather ones became cheaper, and although leather laces continued to be available, leather points disappeared from inventories by the end of the century.

---

<sup>215</sup> Newton, Stella M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A Study of the years 1340-1365*, (Woodbridge: 1980), notes a Great Wardrobe account of 1343-44 which specifically mentions two corsets fastened with silk laces and points with chapes, p.25.

<sup>216</sup> Egan, G. and F. Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London, 3: Dress Accessories, c1150-c.1450*. (London: 1991), p.285.

<sup>217</sup> Cunnington, C.W. and P., *Handbook of English Medieval Costume* (2nd edition) (London: 1969), p.83.

<sup>218</sup> Egan, G. *et al*, *op cit*, p.282-4.

From the second quarter of the sixteenth century, points made of braided silk or linen thread were more frequently worn, particularly by men. With the decreasing use of the male gown and increasing popularity of the doublet, with detachable sleeves, together with hose (that is the trunkhose, or breeches, rather than just the stockings) each outfit of clothes would require several sets of points to truss the garments together. There were a number of methods by which these types of braid could have been constructed; by tablet weaving, using tablets or cards with holes in the corners, which take the place of a loom; by the use of a lucette, a small lyre shaped instrument over which silk threads were looped; by finger looping; or by plaiting. Plaiting produced braids of a rather square but solid appearance, achieved by using up to eight elements or strands; the other methods would have produced either tubular, slightly twisting braids, or else a very fine narrow cord.

Two examples of looped lace can be seen on Gheeraerts painting of Lady Scudamore in informal dress in 1614. A looped cord outlines the flat braid and extends to make a practical button-loop, fastening to a toggle-sized button. This method was sometimes used as a fastening on doublets (see Fig.2). The bracelet on Lady Scudamore's right wrist is made of a very fine cord. Such cords were popular, often used symbolically attached to miniature portraits or rings, as in Mytens portrait of Lady Banbury in 1619. (see Fig.3).

Finger-looped laces were used for the handles and drawstrings of little embroidered sweet or gifts or purses from as early as the twelfth century, and purses often occur among the smallwares in inventories. In 1623, for example, a Rochdale trader had in his stock: 9 Congleton purses valued at a total of 4s 6d., 4 other purses at 3d each, and 7 more at 1d each.

Three hand-written books, dated between 1640 and 1651, still complete with brilliantly coloured examples, demonstrate both the complex construction of such braids and the way in which instructions could be taught and retained for future users.<sup>219</sup> Many of the instructions, which are of similar style to twentieth-century

---

<sup>219</sup> BL Manuscript Department, two examples, untitled, dated 1651. Ref. Ms 6293. NAL at Victoria and Albert Museum, one example in particularly fine condition. 86.FF.3.

knitting patterns, require several participants, of whom at least one would have to be familiar with the ‘coded’ instructions. Dr. Naomi Speicer of Basle, who has examined the laces, notes that the technique is ‘not described later in any Needle-work books for upper-class ladies’ and she assumes that it must have become obsolete during the early-eighteenth century.<sup>220</sup> Since, in the 1650s, clothing was still being fastened together with points as well as buttons, and was being decorated by applied braids, which were sold ready-made by retailers, one can but speculate on the purpose of these almost identical books. They may have been for the useful entertainment and interest of gentlewomen, in the way of shared embroidery pattern books such as John Taylor’s *The Needle’s Excellency*,<sup>221</sup> first printed in 1624, or even for the instruction of small groups of working women producing goods for sale. I incline towards the former possibility, partly because of the reading skills required to interpret the text but also because they would appear to belong to the ethic whereby women of rank were expected to demonstrate their virtuous femininity through the production of needlework with which to enhance their households (see Fig.4).

Point laces can be seen as a necessity - something required to tie garments together - performing a dual role as a fashionable feature, evidenced both in portraits and in the varying styles and values in retailers’ inventories. Several portraits of the mid-seventeenth century depict points made of gold thread with long chased aiguillettes, others were made of ribbon, also having chapes or aglets.<sup>222</sup> Although these points are still theoretically practical, in practice they were probably more for decoration. Clothing was about to undergo some radical changes when, on October 15<sup>th</sup> 1666, according to Samuel Pepys, (or the 18<sup>th</sup> of October according to John Evelyn) King Charles II adopted a new style of garment, which some costume historians identify as the beginnings of the three piece suit.<sup>223</sup> John Evelyn took the credit for the introduction, claiming the influence was his *Tyrannus or the Mode*, presented to the king in 1661. In the pamphlet Evelyn condemned the slavish following of the French mode, warning that ‘when a Nation is able to impose, and give laws to the habit of

---

<sup>220</sup> Dr. Speicer’s commentary is shelved with the instruction books in the British Library.

<sup>221</sup> Taylor, John, *The Needle’s Excellency*, twelfth edition, (London: 1640).

<sup>222</sup> Also spelled *Aiglets*.

<sup>223</sup> For example Penelope Byrd, *The Male Image. Men’s Fashion in Britain 1300-1970*, (London: 1979), and Diana de Marly, *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History*, (London: 1985).

another, (as the late Tartars in China) it has ...prov'd a Fore-runner of the spreading of their conquests there..' <sup>224</sup>

He did not blame the French for changing their fashions so often, he says:

because it is plainly their Interest, and they thrive by it; besides the pleasure of seeing all the World follow them. Believe it, La Mode de France is one of the best Returnes which they make, and feeds as many bellies as it clothes Backs <sup>225</sup>

He gave an instance of the sort of fashion to which he referred:

It was a fine silken thing which I spied walking th'other day through Westminster-Hall, that had as much Ribbon about him as would have plundered six shops and set up twenty Country Pedlers. All his body Was dres't like a May-Pole...and the Colours were Red, Orange, and Blew, of well gum'd Sattin. <sup>226</sup>

Evelyn was obviously delighted when the king adopted the very garments he had recommended. 'His Majesty,' said Evelyn, put himself

into the Eastern fashion of vest, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, etc. into a comely vest, after the Persian mode with girdle or sash...resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained to our great expense and reproach. <sup>227</sup>

Pepys noted that the king claimed vests would 'teach the nobility thrift' and that he would never alter the new fashion. Indeed for four or five years the style did flourish, and with the evolution of the style set by Charles points were no longer necessary for purposes of practical fastenings. Such changes in the type of decoration applied to the more severe lines of men's clothes removed falls of ribbon from the masculine repertoire of accessories. However, by the 1670s the ornamentation and finery had gradually started to return, and were not to disappear again until after 1688 and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy under William and Mary. A painting from 1676 by John Michael Wright of John Granville, Master of the Wardrobe to Charles

---

<sup>224</sup> Evelyn, John, *Tyrannus or the Mode: in a Discourse of Sumptuary Lawes*, p.4, edited from the second edition of 1661 by Nevinson, J.L., (Oxford: 1951).

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid*, p.6.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>227</sup> Quoted in Kuchta, David M., ' "Graceful, virile, and useful": The origins of the three-piece suit', *Dress*, 17, (1990), pp.118-126.

II, shows how points had become features for display only - they were an excuse to wear ribbons (see Fig.5).

The last occurrence of points in my inventory sample is dated 1705. Caleb Brotherhood, a general merchant with two very well stocked shops in Leicestershire had a small supply of points in his Bugworth shop, six dozen at 6d the dozen, with fewer in his main shop in Thornton, only three dozen valued at a total of 6d.<sup>228</sup>

## Buttons

As points fell from use, so buttons increased in popularity and quantity per garment. Buttons had of course existed for several centuries and were frequently used in tandem with points, to provide the main fastening for garments onto which points tied other components. As with 'haberdashery' the etymology of the word 'button' is also confused. It has been suggested that origins may be from the Old German word *botan* becoming French *boton* via the ancient French verb *bouter*, meaning to push. French sources believe that the returning Crusaders made popular the fastening of garments with buttons. It has been suggested that the fibula, a kind of clasp to fasten two pieces of clothing together on the shoulder or chest, was replaced by the button in France between 1220 and 1270, and there is documentary evidence to show that Parisian rosary makers were already making bone buttons in the twelfth century.<sup>229</sup> The earliest known literary reference, 'counsels of pride are not worth a button' from the twelfth century *Chanson de Roland*, implies that the objects themselves were already common enough to have acquired popular connotations and perceptions of value.

Traditionally it had been held that buttons were used only for decoration in Britain until *circa* 1400. Then, as recently as 1977 Nevinson showed that documentary evidence and funerary monuments demonstrate functional buttons being used by those below gentle rank by mid-fourteenth century, citing a painted wooden effigy dated

---

<sup>228</sup> LRO Leics PRI/112/148.

<sup>229</sup> Franklin, A., (1874) *Les Rues at les Cries de Paris au XIIIth Siecle* in de Marly, D., (London: 1985); Houart, V., *Buttons: A Collector's Guide*, (London and Ontario: 1977), p.48 and *passim*.

1360, of Walter de Heylon, a franklin from Much Marcle in Herefordshire.<sup>230</sup> In 1980 Newton demonstrated, through accounts of the royal wardrobe of Edward III, that buttons were introduced first to lower sleeves and later, in about 1342, to the centre front of garments as fashions required clothes to fit more tightly.<sup>231</sup> However, recent finds from the securely dated City of London excavations appear to show by their number and variety that even the lower levels of society were using functional buttons from the early-thirteenth century.<sup>232</sup> This point is confirmed by illuminations from the Trinity College Cambridge *Apocalypse*, circa 1250, which in the past have been claimed, against opposition, to show buttons.<sup>233</sup>

Small fabric buttons from the fourteenth-century Baynard's Castle deposits in London were formed from circles of fulled cloth. Sometimes they were firmed with extra stitching stabbed through the button, and some may have had additional internal stiffening<sup>234</sup>. Later, cloth covered buttons had a hard mould to maintain their shape; sixteenth-century moulds were of wood, bone or ivory, or of metal rings, and buttons were self covered with the costume's fabric, often embroidered. Cloth was cut in circles larger than the area of the mould, allowing enough material to be stretched over the mould and stitched on the back to hold the fabric tight. Also available for use by 'the generality' (so called by Howes in his 1631 continuation of Stowe's *Annales*) were buttons of enamel, 'of threed, silke, haire, and of gold and siluer threed.'<sup>235</sup> These can also be seen in retail inventories and in wills of the period.

Buttons could be intrinsically valuable, hence their appearance in wills as bequeathed gifts, and were considered sufficiently important to be given by the dozen to Queen

---

<sup>230</sup> Nevinson, J. L., 'Buttons and Buttonholes in the Fourteenth Century', in *Costume*, Vol. ii, (1977), pp. 38-44.

<sup>231</sup> Newton, S. M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340 to 1365*, (Woodbridge: 1980).

<sup>232</sup> Egan and Pritchard, *Dress Accessories*, (London: 1991), pp.272-280.

<sup>233</sup> *Roxburghe Club*, No.155, Millar, E., (ed.), (1909), ff.28, 29.

<sup>234</sup> Crowfoot, E., F.Pritchard and K.Staniland, *Textiles and Clothing, finds from excavations in London*, (London: 1992), p.171.

<sup>235</sup> Howes, E. (1631) Stowe's *Annales*, in *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth: Being the Second and Third Books of His Description of Britaine and England, Edited from the First Two Editions of Holinshed's Chronicle, AD 1577, 1587*, Furnivall, Frederick J. (ed.) (London: 1878), p.35.

Elizabeth I as New Year gifts.<sup>236</sup> Her Lord Chamberlain's accounts frequently featured silk buttons decorated with spangles, oes and 'purle' (see Fig.6).<sup>237</sup> London was initially the main producer of silk wares. However, despite Howes' comments that

at the same time (1570) the making or wearing of silke buttons, was very little, or not at all knowne to the generality, but onely to the very best sort, who at that time made buttons of the same stuffe, their doublets, coats or Ierkins were made of.<sup>238</sup>

the Town Accounts of Macclesfield show silk buttons in 1574 and by the end of the century silk button making was established there as a flourishing cottage industry.<sup>239</sup> Stowe commented that about the year 1568 many young nobles began to wear crystal buttons, 'the vulgarisation' of which fashion was condemned by William Harrison in 1586 when imitated by the gentry and yeomanry.<sup>240</sup> These may have been made by the sixteenth-century Venetian technique whereby hot, still workable, glass was rapidly plunged in and out of cold water, causing the contraction of the centre surface and the creation of an interesting crackled pattern.

There are indications that England and France made the first silver buttons in the sixteenth century, but they were in more frequent use by the mid-seventeenth century, also being produced in the Netherlands. Some were in the form of links with two buttons or one button and a bar, held together by a small chain. Others were decorated with repoussé work or with niello. The method was used from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, but the first niello buttons known were made in France in the sixteenth century. Buttons could also be made of tombac, an alloy of copper and zinc sometimes called Prince's metal, which seems to have originated in the early-seventeenth century.<sup>241</sup> Some were decorated, others had applied designs in other metals and they ranged in size from half an inch to over two inches. Glass buttons were another new development in England during the second half of the

---

<sup>236</sup> Channing Linthicum, M., *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, (New York: 1972), p.279 and *passim*.

<sup>237</sup> Lord Chamberlain, Accounts, 1578, L.C. 9/79; 1586, L.C. 9/77.

<sup>238</sup> Howes, E. (1631) *Stowe's Annales*, in Furnivall, Frederick J. (ed.), *op cit*, (London: 1878), p.35.

<sup>239</sup> Collins, L., *Silk Museums in Macclesfield*, (York: 1989), p.7.

<sup>240</sup> Harrison, William, Description of England, Part II, the 3rd Book 1586-1587 in *Harrison's Description...* Furnivall, Frederick J. (ed.), pp.35-36.

<sup>241</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, (Oxford: 1994).

seventeenth century. The *London Gazette* of 17<sup>th</sup> March 1687 makes mention of ‘one coat with black glass buttons’.

Impetus for the rapid development of button production was provided by the changes in clothing. As Epstein and Saffro<sup>242</sup> point out, changing styles account for the increase in the number and size of buttons, but fail to explain the enormous variety of types, methods and designs which began to appear, making a considerable contribution to the growth of some industries and the shaping of certain towns. We might wonder why so much effort, ingenuity, and technology was expended on such small and apparently insignificant items. The answer must be that at the time they were not insignificant. Fashion buttons were undoubtedly a source of profit for the makers, over and above the income to be derived from the production of everyday buttons. These manufacturers had the ability to adapt their goods to changing fashions, more quickly than any other haberdashery item, in order to make the quickest visual change.

During the fashionable period of Charles II’s ‘virile vest’, then later with the return to a sober style after 1688 and the Glorious Revolution, buttons became a necessary accessory to the fashion. ‘Surtouts’ or overcoats, reaching to mid-calf, were made to be close fitting and fastened most of the length of the front opening with a number of buttons. More were required for the pocket flaps, along the sleeves or cuffs and sometimes on the extra fabric of the skirts, while smaller buttons were also needed for the waistcoat, and at the knee of the breeches.

While the production of a considerable number of buttons was essential to provide for the well dressed from the late-seventeenth century, the clothes of a working man from Gunnister in Shetland<sup>243</sup> demonstrate that a multi-buttoned style was not only for the wealthy. His full-skirted coat had 24 buttons down the front, each about one inch in diameter (roughly the size and shape of a chestnut) of which the bottom four were for decoration only – just as occurred in nobility wear of the same period. There were

---

<sup>242</sup> Epstein, D. and M. Saffro, *Buttons*, (New York: 1991), p.24.

<sup>243</sup> Henshall, Audrey S., and Stuart Maxwell, ‘Clothing and other articles from a late 17<sup>th</sup> century grave at Gunnister, Shetland’, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. LXXXVI, (1951-52), pp.30-42.



also seven buttons each side at the line of the pockets. Another twelve buttons fastened a short outer jacket, with a further four on each cuff. There were ten buttons on the under shirt, plus three at each cuff, and a single one was used at the waistband of the breeches, which in this case were wide-legged at the knee, in the style of the Low Countries. Thus a rather surprising seventy-five buttons were required for this very basic suit of clothes that, incidentally, was of quite good but 'home made' tailoring, and not of a quality that might indicate having been passed down from a previous, more exalted, ownership. Sadly, and rather typically, although the cloth and knitted parts of the remains were analysed in technical detail, the haberdashery received only slight attention and 'wool covered with cloth' is all that is recorded of the buttons. No further description indicates the manner in which the cloth was held together, or if a thread shank had been formed for attachment to the garment. Eighteen of the buttons served no function save that of 'decoration' even though they were not in themselves decorative items, which might be interpreted as evidence for the style being considered the important thing, while the buttons were made cheaply at home in the absence of surplus money. Haberdashery was thus playing its part in being a component of fashionable wear, helping to create a desired image.

In Britain by the eighteenth century, men's waistcoats were often elaborately embroidered, even the buttons (see Fig.7). When a coat had metal buttons, the waistcoat did too although the button designs on the waistcoat did not always match those on the coat. In the tradition of the fourteenth century *passmentieres* button faces were first embroidered, and decorated with beads or braids and often encrusted with spangles and gold or silver thread. Then the fabric was pulled over moulds, gathered and fastened tightly at the back with heavy homespun thread, usually linen, and extra stitches were often made to reinforce the fabric for sewing the button to the garment. An alternative method created a button shank before the front and back were joined, by lacing catgut or strong cord through holes in the bone, wood, horn or ivory mould. The face of the button, made of metal, fabric or a combination of materials, was crimped over the mould, where possible, or had a metal band crimped around both parts. Needle and thread were passed between the shank loops and the mould to fasten the button to its garment.<sup>244</sup> Buttons on the leg of the breeches were

---

<sup>244</sup> Albert, L.S., and J. F. Adams, *The Button Sampler*, (New York: 1951), p. 94.

generally the same size as those on the waistcoat. There were usually ten or more on the waistcoat, and eight or more on the breeches. These elaborate buttons would be the type being made by the tradesmen and women noted in Campbell's *The London Tradesman*:

The Button-Maker, I mean the Silver and Gold Button-Maker, is the next humble Servant of the Lace-Man, the Lace-Man furnishes him with all Materials for his Buttons, except Moulds, and buys them of him when done. The Silver and Gold Button-Maker is a pretty ingenious Business: He must have a Fancy and Genius for invent'ng new Fashions, a good Eye, as his Business is porcing, and a clean dry Hand. It requires no great Strength, and is followed by Women as well as Men, ... a good Workman, if he can get Employ among the Crowd, may earn Twelve or Fifteen Shillings a Week.<sup>245</sup>

A technique using lead-glass cut to imitate gemstones was perfected in 1734 by G.F. Strass of Strasbourg, a goldsmith on the Quai des Orfèvres in Paris. English jewellers adopted the process and called it 'paste', from the Italian pasta - pastry, while elsewhere it was referred to as 'strass'. The glass producers of Bristol and Uttoxeter were the first to make these imitation stones in the eighteenth century, hence its alternative name 'Bristol stone'. The paste stones, often rose-cut, were always backed with silver foil, since glass does not have the internal refractory power of diamonds. Buttons were often made from a single piece of metal with holes drilled in it and cups soldered behind to hold the stones, but in later paste buttons the stones are merely cemented into place. In a later development, small glass 'jewels' were applied to garments with a dab of glue and held by a setting formed of a circlet of bullion thread stitched into place (see Fig.8).

Around the middle of the eighteenth century French and English button making began more obviously to diverge. French buttons essentially involved intricate artisan work such as ivory carving, or Limoges enamel, while the English buttons became more associated with technology and industry. Baddeley, one of the earliest button makers of Birmingham who retired from business in 1739, is reputed to have invented various machines designed to speed up button production methods. John Taylor founded what can probably be called the first real factory in Birmingham in the 1730s, where

---

<sup>245</sup>Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman*, 1747, (Newton Abbot: reprint, 1969).

he employed more than 500 people, achieving a weekly turnover of some £800.<sup>246</sup> It is believed that he made improvements to the different processes involved in the manufacture of gilt buttons, which became a speciality of Birmingham in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1759 Taylor was one of two manufacturers called to explain to a House of Commons Committee the importance of the metal toy trade to Birmingham. They stated that at least 20,000 people from Birmingham and its neighbourhood were employed by the industry that had a trade value of about £600,000 per year, of which the greater proportion of the product was exported. In 1766 Lord Shelburne, a politician, was much impressed by Taylor's use of an alloy for the goods, by the heavy use of machinery, and by the division of labour to speed up the production process:

..Thus a button passes through fifty hands, and each hand perhaps passes a thousand a day: ..by this means the work becomes so simple that...children of six to eight years old do it as well as men, and earn from ten pence to eight shillings a week.<sup>247</sup>

Pinchbeck, an alloy of copper and zinc sometimes washed with gold, was widely used in the eighteenth century to make shoe buckles and other 'toys' as well as buttons, and was occasionally plated with a thin layer of gold. It was named after its inventors, Christopher Pinchbeck and his son Edward, clock makers in London during the first half of the eighteenth century, who also sold buttons made of their alloy. Matthew Boulton used pinchbeck to create some most attractive buttons, but he is best known as the Birmingham industrialist who invented the cut steel button. Steel was used to make buttons from early in the eighteenth century, when they were usually very large, always flat, and of simple design. Around 1745 Boulton started replacing the precious and paste stones used in jewellery and buttons by cut steel facets, which were riveted to flat steel discs. The term 'cut steel' is applicable only to buttons that are entirely made of facets, some having up to 150 pieces arranged in concentric circles. Boulton steel buttons were initially only bespoke, but around 1760 the fashion for wearing them spread rapidly through Britain and the continent, with the French adopting them in the 1770s. The brilliance of cut-steel buttons inspired many cartoons in early journals. Men wore the large, handsome buttons and, it is said,

---

<sup>246</sup> Hamilton, P., 'John Taylor' in *The New Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: 2004).

<sup>247</sup> Fitzmaurice, Lord E., *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, Vol. I, 1737-66, (1875), p.403.

when these buttons reflected the sun, they were dazzling. Their popularity, along with that of other large buttons declined in the early 1800s.

The first Bilston enamel factory was opened in 1749, producing enamelled buttons with rolled rims. Also making rolled rim buttons, York House, in Battersea, London, was an enamel factory founded in 1753 by Stephen-Theodore Janssen, partnered by Irishmen John Brooks and Henry Delamain. It has been suggested that Brooks was the inventor of the process of transfer printing used on 'Battersea buttons' which was subsequently adopted by the English ceramic industry.

Josiah Wedgwood first made salt glazed earthenware buttons in 1755. In 1768 he created a fine black ceramic body he named 'basalts.' After he perfected jasperware his small cameos were sold to others to be mounted in frames, but it was also used to make buttons in five colours and a variety of shapes, many bearing the neoclassical motifs that became the Wedgwood insignia. He also himself sold 'finished buttons' both one piece, self-shank buttons, and those that, instead of being moulded with the body, had shanks applied as a separate piece.<sup>248</sup> His association with Matthew Boulton, whose company provided the cut steel settings, commenced in 1773. Boulton also made extensive use of Sheffield plate. In medieval times plating with silver had been performed by grafting thin slivers or sheets of silver on to already made-up works. Sheffield plate, however, is made by a process that was discovered by Thomas Boulsover around 1750, who noted that silver and copper could be fused together. When put through a rolling mill the two fused metals expanded in unison and behaved as one metal. It was therefore possible to create a sheet of base metal covered with a skin of silver and use it to make articles.

Evidence that the industry was quick to react to events and to turn them into instant fashion can be seen with the production of beautiful buttons *à la Montgolfier* immediately after the successful ascent of the Montgolfier brothers in the first hot-air balloon on June 4th 1783. These were followed soon after by buttons *au ballon* after the first ascent of a hydrogen-filled balloon on 27th August of the same year. Under glass in copper frames, they were decorated with various views of balloon ascents

---

<sup>248</sup> Albert, L.S., and J. F. Adams, *The Button Sampler*, (New York: 1951), p. 84-5.

reproduced in paint on silk or paper, or by engravings on paper. 'Air Balloon hats are all the Fashion, as well as Air Balloon heads..' wrote 'Wallingford' a young guardsman from Hampshire to his sisters Lady Letitia ('Dear Letty') and Lady Caroline ('Dear Sister') Knollis.<sup>249</sup> Production did not cease in 1786 - when the balloon craze died down - but continued into the early years of the nineteenth century.<sup>250</sup>

The idea of making things out of *papier maché* seems to have been developed in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was developed and commercialised in England during the second half of the century. The first to use the process was Mr. Watson, of 76 High St. Birmingham, followed by Henry Clay, also of Birmingham, who took out a patent in 1772. Clay was still advertising in the Birmingham Trade Directory of 1788 as 'Japanner to His Majesty.' It has been suggested that Clay was the first to produce *papier maché* buttons, as Thomas Watson, a 'paper button maker' of Birmingham, describes himself as 'late apprentice to Henry Clay' in his undated trade card, but it is impossible to tell who first perfected the method of inlaying mother-of-pearl in the *papier maché*. Made from white deep-sea shells imported from Australia, the Philippines and Indonesia, many millions of mother-of-pearl and shell buttons were made in France and England in the eighteenth century. Being fragile, the material could not be worked by machinery, so highly skilled craftsmen made the buttons in small workshops run by 'small masters'.

It should be noted, however, that although the above mentioned buttons were undoubtedly the ones which were obtainable through the various trade outlets, where buttons appear in inventories they were generally given descriptive rather than generic names. They are commonly found as metal, steel, pewter, gold, frosted, copper, glass, tin, thread, or brass. Frequently they were noted by the garment for which they were intended: waistcoat, coat, cloak, cassock, shirt, breeches, codpiece, handkerchief, vest; or even more specifically: cuff, sleeve, breast, waistband, and neck (see Fig.9). On other occasions they were described by their colour, size or quality, for example:

---

<sup>249</sup> HRO 'Wallingford Letters' I M 44/97/1.

<sup>250</sup> In 1794 the trade card of Gell, of Lewes in Sussex, who sold *Hab. Mill'y, Hos'y, Perfumery* advertised the usual Haberdashery wares and *Balloon Purses, Etwees, and Thread Cases*. BM: Banks Collection,70.31.

red, black, white, scarlet, large, small, old, old fashioned, old silk, old braid, best.<sup>251</sup> Only rarely were they given proper noun descriptors such as Royal Oak cloak buttons, Quality buttons, or Britannia breast buttons. Britannia metal was a lead-less alloy of tin and regulus of antimony resembling silver or polished pewter used in Great Britain from about 1770 into the nineteenth century.

‘Scotch’ buttons were also named in inventories in a number of variations: Scotts, white thread Scotch, silver and gold Scotch, and double Scotch. Scotch cloth was an inexpensive fabric, and peddlers were sometimes also known as ‘Scotchmen’, but it must be concluded that the silver and gold Scotch buttons were more valuable items than the other ‘Scotch’ wares. Buttons of silver, gold, gold and silver, silk, and silk with precious metals, abound even in apparently small retail outlets, but what was recognisably ‘Scotch’ about these particular buttons, and indeed why was it considered necessary to title them in that manner?

Dorset buttons were originally made in Dorset in the mid-eighteenth century. They were hand made, often by lace makers, in such a way that the button remained quite flat for use on undergarments and working men’s shirts. Also on a prosaic level, horn buttons continued to be produced for the working man’s garments being advertised in Birmingham Trade Directories up to and beyond 1800. A horn button business was advertised for sale in *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette* in 1790 following the death of the owner. The premises, in Bartholomew Street, contained ‘upward of 40 presses, 200 pairs of button dies. Drilling, fringeing and other lathes’ together with boilers, furnaces, pattern books and all other appendages for carrying on the business.<sup>252</sup>

The use of horn occurs also in the following useful description of button making in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, showing the same movement towards mass production that was taking place in the pin making trade:

---

<sup>251</sup> Drawing on my own sample plus the Wolverhampton University *Dictionary Project* database for the same period, 14 types of clothing-associated buttons are to be found; 23 descriptively named buttons; and 34 different types of materials = 71 diversely named buttons. See *Appendix 2*, p.332, for listings.

<sup>252</sup> *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 49, 9/27/1790.

10 August 1776 ...the Tin Plate[s] ... are rolled out, till they seem to be as thin as Paper twice or thrice folded. Then they are cut into whatever Shapes the occasion may require. If Buttons be wanted they are punched out with an instrument to the proper size. Thence they are taken to the stamping machine where they receive whatever impression they think proper, having indented instruments for the purpose. This operation is performed by raising an Iron Weight which is fixed in a frame to make it fall in a proper Direction, an Instrument wrought upon the same Principles as the Engine driving Pits. They are then filled with Tin or with Bone according to the kind. They afterwards receive a Polish and are then wrapped in their proper papers for Sales. The single article of a Button thus goes thro a multitude of different hands, each a single Trade. One man all the Days of his Life is engaged in punching, another in polishing, another in cutting the Bone, another in giving it the impression &c &c &c. By these Means each Person becomes expert in his particular Walk and carries on his Branch of Business with an expedition he never could acquire if his attention were diverted to numerous objects.<sup>253</sup>

Jabez Maud Fisher was an American merchant visiting England to buy assorted goods, but he also wrote a typical travelogue, admiring the sights as he toured the country and observed industrial processes at work.

The manufactory of Bolton and Fothergill has not much to do with the less valuable Articles. It consists of more costly and highly finished Commodities. The making of Buttons of various kinds, plated, lacquered, gilt employs a little Army of all Ages.<sup>254</sup>

An examination of advertising matter and other information appearing in selected newspapers may help identify some ways in which buttons were regarded during the eighteenth century. It is interesting to note the frequency with which quite detailed descriptions of buttons formed part of the identification summary of runaway apprentices, such as: ‘..wearing a dark brown coat & Grey breeches with white Metal Buttons on them ..’<sup>255</sup> Mancunian apprentices frequently favoured ‘Yellow Metal Buttons’; a soldier who absconded from the 39th Regiment of Foot was wearing a ‘velveret waistcoat with Anchor Buttons.’<sup>256</sup>; and ‘Bath metal buttons’ were noted on the clothes of more than one apprentice in Birmingham.<sup>257</sup>

It is also noticeable that the button information for runaway apprentices in *Aris's Gazette* from Birmingham, a town for which buttons were of particular importance,

---

<sup>253</sup> Morgan, Kenneth, (ed), Fisher, Jabez Maud, *An American Quaker in the British Isles: the Travel Journals of Jabez Maud Fisher, 1775-1779*, (Oxford: 1992), p.241.

<sup>254</sup> Fisher, Jabez Maud, *ibid*, p.253.

<sup>255</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 14/05/1750.

<sup>256</sup> *Manchester Mercury*, 1 June 1790

<sup>257</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 05/06/1751.

were often both especially detailed ('coat and waistcoat, lined with white with large white plated buttons')<sup>258</sup> and rather showy ('a flower'd cotton waistcoat with red stone buttons').<sup>259</sup> One might guess that at the heart of the production area there could be a wider choice of fancy buttons, and certainly there would be a greater awareness and familiarity with those items that provided such a large number of people with a livelihood.

The quantity of detail provided in such descriptions as: '...a blue shag coat with broad white metal buttons and a blue waistcoat with blue glass buttons,'<sup>260</sup> may indicate that these were the only clothes an apprentice had. The details were remembered and recorded, and they were thought to be worth publicising either because they would identify the runaway, who would probably have difficulty obtaining alternative clothes, or else cause the garments to be recognised if offered for pawn or second hand sale. Either way, the advertiser's expectations were that the public would be both observant and informed enough to identify such items as 'small Bath metal buttons.'<sup>261</sup>

Evidently people were that aware, *vide* this incident when the clothes of a suspected thief were described, not by the original supplier of the clothing as in the runaway apprentices, but by a third party, the pawnbroker:

Whereas a person who calls himself James Dougherty...was stopped this morning offering to pawn some shoes [which were likely to have been stolen]..The said Docherty had on a blue coat with yellow metal buttons...<sup>262</sup>

This belief in the public awareness of objects tells us several things. It confirms the social importance to the possessors of these small decorative features. The Norwich Gazette of 1701 noted that a deserter 'wears a Thread bare grey coat with the newest fashion'd buttons on't.'<sup>263</sup> It implies that the population took note of these things and could readily identify the 'newest fashions'. It is tempting to claim that the buttons

---

<sup>258</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 09/09/1779.

<sup>259</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 09/29/1760.

<sup>260</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 06/-- 1751.

<sup>261</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 05/06/1751.

<sup>262</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 49, 10/4/90.

<sup>263</sup> *Norwich Gazette*, No. 31: 06/07/1701.



were the eye-catching things in a drab world, but descriptions of the clothing worn by apprentices or thieves frequently contradict that notion. Although the clothes may well have been second or third hand, and were indeed often recorded as worn or dirty - 'unwashed and greasy' being a frequently used phrase - the original fabrics appear to be bright and noticeable, such as the 'brown waistcoat mixed with stripes of white and yellow, and yellow Metal buttons on it.'<sup>264</sup> The buttons were an important factor in the description, often given equal weight with information about the colour and type of fabric.

Yet conversely where private accounts and diaries make notes on the purchase of personal haberdashery, description is often disappointingly sparse. William Blundell in the early 1700s frequently went to Liverpool for his shopping and social life. Although he made quite detailed notes of his purchases, either he rarely bought buttons, or else they were just too small for him to bother mentioning them. One rare entry records in 1723, 'Galoone, Ticking for pockets 2/5, Silk laices and Feret 2/8, Quality Binding 1/1½, Thread and buttons for my shirts 1/10.'<sup>265</sup> While earlier references note the arrival of two tailors to make his 'Winter Sute with French Buttons,' and the purchase of 'Loops and Buttons for my Wives Mantu' at 4d.<sup>266</sup>

It is of course perfectly plausible to suggest that buttons may have been re-used, perhaps several times, which would account for them not appearing in accounts as frequently as might be expected. The accounts and letterbook of a Hampshire farmer<sup>267</sup> in the mid-seventeenth century notes buttons on only very infrequent occasions:

From Snt James to  
Hollundtide 1649 ...  
For 2 dozen of black button                      00 00 06  
.....  
Payd to Tho: Mathew ye'

---

<sup>264</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 9, 14/5/50.

<sup>265</sup> Tyrer, Frank, (ed.), *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, in three volumes, Liverpool. (1968,1970 and 1972), Vol.III, p.120.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid*, p.p. 53, 16.

<sup>267</sup> WSRO: 18,007, Lindfield Account and Letterbook, 1648.

1st of June 1650 ...	
For 2 dozen of blacke buttons	00 00 06
....	
1660, ffor 2 dozen of buttons	00 00 03

In these three entries the writer was so specific that it almost seems as though button purchases were only recorded on these occasions because there were no other button purchases at any time. This seems unlikely, bearing in mind the number of buttons necessary for each garment, and that this was not a low-income family where buttons might have been home made. One must conclude that there would have been a considerable amount of re-use, and that new purchases must have been subsumed into the appropriate tradesman's bills while only isolated purchases were recorded individually. This seems also to have been the case with Miss Grainger, sister of John Grainger, of Tuckfield, Sussex.<sup>268</sup> For example on October 7<sup>th</sup> 1778 she noted the purchase of pins costing five pence, and more in November:

Pins 11d together with  
 Ribben & ferit....7½d,  
 tape & thread.... 2d,

However, in the period covered by her later diaries, 1782-86, she more frequently paid, and recorded the payment, in the form: 'Haberdashers Bill £3.04s 00d., Mercers Bill £5.12s.00d.,' eventually noting her debtors by name without a trade.

It is also difficult to establish the sort of quantities to which these entries of small wares pertain. In a slightly earlier account book Elizabeth Dodson<sup>269</sup> purchased:

[March 1728]	[March] ye 21 for pins.... 00 01 01
and in June of the same year	[June] ye 13 for pins... 00 00 04

The first payment was evidently either for a considerably larger number or for better quality than the second, but the details are not available.

---

<sup>268</sup> WSRO: Add. Ms 30,738 - Jan 19 1778, Grainger, sister of John, of Tuckfield, Sussex.

<sup>269</sup> NAL: 86 SS 77, Dodson, Elizabeth, account book. 1728.

The account book of an anonymous Chichester farmer (possibly written by two authors) dated from 1686 to 1771, is a little more detailed:<sup>270</sup>

W'm Beling his bill	
for 4 yards 1/2 of Cloth	00 15 09
for 1 ds of bottons	00 00 10
Sholone ...[blank]	
Selk and twist	00 01 00

Although in his account book for 1768 John Grainger of Chichester<sup>271</sup> merely recorded his haberdashery and small ready-made items as:

Jan 1768	Buttons	0 00 05
Mar	Stockings & Buckels	00 07 06
May	Gloves .....	00 01 00
	Buttons .....	00 00 02

on some occasions his diaries or account books do provide more detail. In the entry for January 31<sup>st</sup> 1787 he was very sure of the buttons he wanted on his clothes:

Fanny come up to know whethr I had anything to say to the Taylor and wanted to know what sort of Button for the coat as he had brought all the Cloaths. I told Fanny the same as the Coat, a Basket Button. I went down to the Taylor & told him myself. I told Fanny that Tommy Westcoat should be taken & mended - & Mrs. G. ask me were was the Taylor I told her he was gone and then she called me a great thick headed fellow & told me I was fit to do nothing at the Window. I told her she was a good for nothing hussey & she threatened to strike me twice if I did not go long up Stairs. I told her if she struk me I would knock her down, so over words I come up stairs.<sup>272</sup>

(see Fig.10)

Matthew Lee, a young man temporarily living in Holland for the improvement of his language skills and his father's business interests, kept a journal of his travels and expenditure from 1733. Helpfully he itemised the cost of purchasing some of the costlier haberdashery items<sup>273</sup>:

<sup>270</sup> WSRO: 15,217, Account book [Anon] 1686-1771.

<sup>271</sup> WSRO: GRAINGER, John 1763 – 1764 and 1767-68: 30,737 - 30,740.

<sup>272</sup> WSRO: Add.Ms. 30,721, Grainger, John. 1787, p.2.

<sup>273</sup> DRO: 2889F/1, The Account Book of Matthew Lee 1733: 2889F/1.

1741 Feb'ry	13 <sup>th</sup> Buttons &c for ten shirts	00 01 05
.....		
17 <sup>th</sup>	2 ½ yds gold lace	00 15 00
4 Doz'n	gold buttons	00 11 06
19 <sup>th</sup>	a silver waistband buckle	00 06 00
...		
[March]	a P'r sleeve buttons	00 05 00
	a set of metal buckles	00 03 06
...		
March 15. Pd'	Wm' Basnett & Co for	
	an embroidered waistcoat buttons &c	11 06 00
...		
27 <sup>th</sup>	5 Doz coat & 1½ doz breeches buttons	00 03 10
...		
April 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Buttons for a waistcoat	00 00 10

As with the Lindfield accounts, those of Richard Latham<sup>274</sup> mention buttons only infrequently and with even less detail:

1727		
for a cheese	10 lbs 1s 10½d: veal 10d: salt 2d: buttons 3½d	02 06½
for blue searge	4 yards 5s 4d: black searge half yard 8d	06 00
for whale bone	4 ounces 1s 6d: buckram half yard 9d: buttons 3½d	02 06½
1733		
	3 duson of buttons 11d:...	
1734		
	beesom 1¼d: buttons 1½d:...	

It is unfortunate for this study that Julius Hardy, one of the brothers in the button manufacturing partnership of 'Julius and Joseph Hardy, Metalware and Button

---

<sup>274</sup> Weatherill, Lorna, (ed.) 'The Account Book of Richard Latham, 1724-1767', *Records of Social and Economic History*, New Series XV, (New York: 1990). Information taken from the Concordance.

manufacturers, Weaman's Row' in Birmingham, wrote tantalisingly little detail in his diary about his actual business, despite naming his 30-40 employees in the entry for September 1<sup>st</sup> 1789.<sup>275</sup> The diary was written between 1788 and 1793. In the later section Hardy wrote with concern of falling employment, failing trade, bankruptcies, and the suicides of several businessmen, much of which he attributed to the war with France and to problems with banking and credit throughout the country. He noted that when tradesmen could not:

...make good their present payments, or take up their drafts...owing to the universal scarcity of money, they can have no alternative but delivering themselves up to their creditors: whereby vast numbers are made bankrupts many of whom it may be really are more than solvent, could they but find means of converting their property into ready cash...In the course of seven weeks after the present Chancellor Loughbro' came into office, it is asserted, and pretty generally believed, he put the seals to upwards of five hundred commissions of bankruptcy.

Rather surprisingly Hardy made no mention of a problem that was of considerable concern. As early as the reign of Queen Anne it was evident that the covering of buttons with fabric and embroidery was a threat to the metal button industry and an Act was passed to prohibit the practice. An insertion in *Aris's Gazette* on October 30<sup>th</sup> 1790<sup>276</sup> invited:

Dealers in Buttons are desired to meet...to cooperate with the London Dealers to enforce the Laws now in being for preventing the wearing of covered buttons.

As a result of the meeting, two weeks later another item in the Gazette warned manufacturers and the public:

Against making or Wearing of Buttons illegally covered. By an act of the 8<sup>th</sup> of Queen Anne...any tailor or other person [covering buttons] shall forfeit £5 for every Dozen. Manufacturers remind the public that many thousands of industrious Men Women and Children are become almost destitute of Employment by the General use now made of Buttons unlawfully covered.<sup>277</sup>

---

<sup>275</sup> Banks, A.M. (trans. and ed.), *The Diary of Julius Hardy, Buttonmaker of Birmingham, 1788-1793*. BCR/ LSH (no date) pp. 66-71.

<sup>276</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 49, 11/30/1790.

<sup>277</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 49, 11/15/1790.

Hardy considered that Birmingham was not as badly affected as London, Bristol and Liverpool but noted several well founded firms, including two brass foundries, that had either been declared bankrupt, or have ‘craved an indulgence of time from their creditors.’ In April 1793 Hardy recorded having to turn away more than half his workforce, and his comment that the ‘small returns from the Fair at Frankfurt ...gives us...very small hopes hitherto..’ indicates that his normal business included substantial foreign trade. In May he dismissed his clerk and mentioned that the remaining men only worked four days per week and that he has ‘had the shops shut for some time past, the two first working days.’ Although it is generally accepted that in time of war the suppliers of such items as buttons and buckles for uniforms benefited from an increase in demand for their goods, Julius Hardy did not seem to gain in that way. It might be surmised that his business was primarily geared to the fancy goods trade, or that his staunch Methodist beliefs prevented his participation. However, with Hardy’s mention of the suicide of a draper of his acquaintance, and that a button maker, Mr Hands of Great Charles St., who despite having ‘procured a patent for some kinds of buttons as well as for the making of elastic [waterproof] shoes...’ now ‘owes upwards of twenty thousand pounds,’ it appears that the problems of the final years of the century were rapidly reflected in the haberdashery trades. A demonstration perhaps that, just as improving times encouraged the production and sale of small fripperies, the little luxuries were the first items to be abandoned in hard times.

## Spangles

Unlike haberdashery items, such as buttons, laces and points intended for both the necessity of fastening and for decorating, spangles were solely for embellishment. These tiny metal artefacts were commonly disc shaped with a central hole to allow for stitching into place on garments. However, illustrations in *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* clearly show a small lug on one side, and Egan and Pritchard suggest that late twelfth-century spangles may have had some sort of official symbolism. They conclude that ‘it is best to regard them as no more than a widely

available adornment of a particular shape.<sup>278</sup> Spangles were particularly popular in the court of Elizabeth I; several contemporary portraits show them and they appeared frequently in the accounts of the Master of the Revels (see Fig.11).<sup>279</sup> Examples from the mid-eighteenth century were similar to twenty-first century sequins, being generally a little larger than those represented in Tudor and Jacobean paintings. In *The London Tradesman* Campbell describes the production of a simple article, the appeal of which would lie in its use in quantity to produce a glittering effect, rather than the individual twinkle provided by the earlier designs.

The Lace-Man employs, besides the Craft above mentioned in the Metal Way, the Spangle, Bugle, and Button Ring Maker. The Spangles and Plate Figures in Embroidery are made of Gold or Silver Wire, first twined round a Stick of the Bigness they want the Spangles, to be made of; then they are cut off in Rings and flatted upon an Anvil, with a Punch and the Stroke of a heavy Hammer. The Anvil is made of Iron, fixed in a large Block of Wood bound round with Iron Hoops; the Face of it is of case-hardened Steel, nicely polished and perfectly flat, the Punch is nine Inches long, and about an Inch over in the Face, which is likewise of case-hardened Steel, flat and curiously polished, a Frame of Iron.<sup>280</sup>

Another variation on spangles can be seen on a man's waistcoat dated 1780 at the Bath Museum of Costume. Somewhat larger and heavier than the ordinary flat ones which are also used on the garment, these spangles are domed and are attached by sewing through two off-centre sewing holes with a metallic thread and a dab of glue (see Fig.12).

Some years later the *Dictionary of Needlework* describes spangles as:

small tin plates, silvered or gilded, having a perforation in the centre. Some are flat, and others concave in form, and vary much in price.<sup>281</sup>

Similarly domed, but not shiny, tiny stiffened paper or thin fabric pressed shapes covered with silk, were also used round the edges of pockets, coats or cuffs. Sewn on

---

<sup>278</sup> Egan, G. and F. Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories. 1150-1450*, (London: 1991), pp.235-7.

<sup>279</sup> Feuillerat, Albert (ed.), *Accounts Of The Master Of The Revels*, (Louvain: 1908).

<sup>280</sup> Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman*, 1747, (Newton Abbot: reprint, 1969).

<sup>281</sup> Caulfeild, S.F.A., and B.C. Seward, *The Dictionary of Needlework: An Encyclopedia of Artistic, Plain, and Fancy Needlework*, (First edition 1882), (Exeter: reprint, 1989), p.454.

with four stitches, they were given thread ‘settings,’ seen here on two coats (see Figs 13 & 14).

## Pins

Joan Thirsk commented in 1978 that:

Historians have decided that pins are commodities beneath notice, and more than one editor of historical documents has printed valuable references to them, but omitted the word entirely from his volume’s index.<sup>282</sup>

Despite her attempt to draw attention to the importance of the frequently overlooked manufacture of pins, Thirsk still does not detail one of their prime uses. She notes quite correctly that, ‘They were as essential to the tailors, dress makers, hat makers, and lace makers as were nails to the carpenter and joiner.’<sup>283</sup> However, that analogy with constructional occupations omits mention of the frequent method of using pins to form and fasten garments while on the body, for the duration of that wearing, not merely as preparatory to sewing for permanent assembly. ‘In the home too they were used in large quantities,’ she continues, though with no further detail except to mention the standard sentences for translation for teaching the French language to English boys: ‘Is there no small pins for my cuffs? Look in the pin cushion.’

The clothing descriptions of Janet Arnold bring to the attention evidence that an allowance of ‘pin money’ was a necessity rather than a luxury. She closely examined many portraits, and grave clothes, for the cut and structure of sixteenth and seventeenth-century clothing. Discussing the development of the farthingale she comments on the construction having been achieved by ‘pinning the skirt to the farthingale frame then stroking the fullness down from the waist in soft pleats.’<sup>284</sup> In some later cases the material was ‘pulled up with two or three rows of gathering stitches, before being pinned to the farthingale’, and in another example a red velvet

---

<sup>282</sup> Thirsk, Joan, *Economic Policy and Projects: The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: 1978), p.78.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid*, p.78

<sup>284</sup> Arnold, Janet, *Patterns of Fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c1560-1620*, (London: 1991), p.11.



petticoat had the flounce secured with ‘red ribbon points tied in bows. These are probably hiding pins beneath.’<sup>285</sup> Arnold illustrates this use of pins with the recumbent effigy dated 1613, in St. Andrew’s Church, Norwich, of Martha, wife of Sir John Suckling. Here the tightly gathered in cartridge pleats at the waist have the tuck – that is the looped up fabric, formed to adapt the skirt length when worn over different padded rolls or farthingale frames – pinned to the edge of a small drum-shaped farthingale.<sup>286</sup> In a painting of Lady Throgmorton by an unknown English artist c1600, Arnold notes that ‘dents appear in the pleats where the silk is caught with pins underneath.’ The number of pins needed to produce the pattern of folds in the flounce right round the (roughly) eight foot circumference can be estimated as being in the region of 200. Bearing in mind the ease with which pins can be shed or mislaid, it is not difficult to see that just one wearing of a pinned gown could result in the need to replenish the stock of pins. The pins themselves would oxidise, turning rusty in the case of iron or greenening with verdigris in the brass ones, and would need to be discarded before they marked the fabric.

It was not only the wealthy who attached their sleeves by the use of pins. Although few paintings exist showing the poor in their daily environment in this country, in the Netherlands painters such as Breughel, Aertsen and Beukaler excelled at genre painting. In several paintings, for example *Old Peasant* by Pieter Aertsen,<sup>287</sup> sleeves can clearly be seen to be pinned into place at the top of the armhole and left unattached at the bottom. Pins holding shirts closed at the neck, and fastening bands to clothing, are also evident, as too are examples of pinning outer skirts up out of the dirt, such as in Beuckelaer’s *Market Scene with the Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, 1563.<sup>288</sup>

Pins were thus used in enormous numbers in the sixteenth century, but the use of pins as they are now known, as opposed to the type of decorative items found in the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum, or bone pins dating from the Palaeolithic age, dates

---

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>286</sup> Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c1560-1620*, (London: 1991), pp.12 and 13.

<sup>287</sup> Pieter Aertsen, *Old Peasant*, undated (between 1552-69), National Museum of Budapest.

<sup>288</sup> Joachim Beuckelaer, *Market Scene with the Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, 1563, Macdonald Collection, Isle of Skye.

from at least the thirteenth century. Tradition has it that pins were used in France before they appeared in Britain, and they were the subject of some protest by Jean De Meun (d. 1305) and Guillaume De Lorris (fl. c. 1230) in their *Roman de la Rose*.

About half a dishful of pins are stuck about the horns [of the hennin headdress] and round the whimple...a lady so securely tied up that her whimple seemed nailed to her neck, or that the pins are stuck in her flesh....One must not admire their fastenings too close, for they sting worse than nettles or thistles.<sup>289</sup>

By 1376 the Company of Pin-makers, established in 1356, returned two men to the Common Council of London, and in 1469 supplied twenty men to the City Watch. Bristol had a pinners company by 1497. Edward III ordered 12,000 pins to be delivered to Princess Joan in 1363, and English pins were of sufficient quality for 500 'de la façon d'Angleterre' to have been purchased by the Duchess of Orleans from Jean de Breconnier, *épinglier* of Paris, in 1400. By the later fifteenth century brass pins were arriving in this country from France in such quantities that in 1483 their importation was prohibited by statute. In an attempt to stem the continuing flow of cheap, inferior wares Statute 37, Henry VIII. Cap.13 prohibited the sale of all pins 'unless they be double-headed and the heads soldered fast to the shank of the pinne, well smoothed, the shank well shaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and sharpened.'<sup>290</sup>

Sir Thomas Smith commented in his Discourse in 1549 that pins were one of the commodities that ought to be manufactured in England<sup>291</sup>, and in a petition to Lord Burghley calling for revising statutes of restraint of foreign wares, the pin-makers claimed that 'there are above forty thousand pounds worth of pins and needles yearly brought into the realm which are nothing so good or well wrought as those which are made and brought within the land.'<sup>292</sup> At some point in the 1560s or 1570s brass wire was imported from Sweden and Germany, and the quality of English pins

---

<sup>289</sup> Quoted in Longman, E.D. and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions*, (London: 1911), p.14-15.

<sup>290</sup> Longman, E.D., and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions*, (London: 1911), p.17; Hunt, Jonathan, *Pinmakers to the World: An illustrated history of the Newey Group*, (London: 1989), pp.7-8.

<sup>291</sup> Smith, Sir Thomas, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, 1549*, Lamond, E., (ed.), (Cambridge: 1954), p.63.

<sup>292</sup> Longman, E.D., *op cit*, p. 20.

improved. The import of foreign pins was banned in 1563, allowed during the next few years, banned again in 1571 and also for the rest of the reign of Elizabeth I.

Contemporary commentators maintained that pin making employed thousands of labourers; not surprising in a sequence of manufacture that involved wire drawing, cutting, pointing with a file and adding the knob to every pin, individually by hand. In 1608 between 2,000 and 3,000 were said to be employed in pin manufacture in London and the suburbs.<sup>293</sup> However, there was still much wrangling between the English pin makers and the Dutch, whose low priced pins (produced, it was said, at minimal cost by paupers in workhouses), and also very fine ones were much in demand. It is claimed that 'the balance of payments had to endure an import bill of £60,000 a year for pins from abroad' before a Protection Act was passed 'forbidding the import of pins except by the pinners themselves.'<sup>294</sup> The first sizable pin manufactory was founded in Bristol in 1623, by John Tilsley with a Corporation loan of £100. Tilsley was the first to perceive the advantage of a large workforce where each person concentrated on a single job. Many of the workers were children who could quickly learn and manage the light repetitive tasks, and whom the city corporation were paying premiums to have taken off their hands. Tilsley was asked to set up a similar manufactory in Gloucester in 1626, where pin making on a small scale had been carried out since the 1300s, and where a decline in the production of textiles was causing considerable unemployment and hardship. The trade flourished and by 1735 pin making had become the chief manufacture of the city. A pin making trade was also started in other places, such as Salisbury, Aberford in Yorkshire, and in Birmingham, but its development in the latter was slow until the later eighteenth century.<sup>295</sup>

---

<sup>293</sup> Thirsk, Joan, *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978), p.80.

<sup>294</sup> Hunt, Jonathan, *Pinmakers to the World: An illustrated history of the Newey Group*, (London: 1989), p.8.

<sup>295</sup> Thirsk, Joan, *op cit*, p.83.

# Needles

According to Max von Boehn:

Eyed needles have been found on Palaeolithic sites (from 40,000 years ago) and it is believed that those remote peoples used a kind of tailoring to sew animal skins into protective suits, much as the Eskimos continued to do until recent times. In the classical period, tailors were only mentioned for the first time in an edict of Diocletian (AD285-303)<sup>296</sup>

Steel needles were imported to England from the continent. Political unrest in Europe, however, led to the immigration of several needle-makers who brought improved processes to England. Stowe's *Annales*, edited by Furnivall in 1878 tells us that

...the making of Spanish Needles, was first taught in Englande, by Elias Crowse a Germaine, about the Eight yeare of Queene Elizabeth; and in Queene Maries time, there was a Negro made fine Spanish needles in Cheapside, but would never teach his Art to any.<sup>297</sup>

The first needles recorded in the Redditch area were made in 1639, and the town began developing what was to be a highly successful trade from 1700. Steel wire, produced in the nearby Black Country, was cut, strengthened and pointed at both ends to make a pair of needles. These were then punched with eyes, split into two and hardened in a furnace, and finally polished in a water-powered scouring mill, glazed and dried. Initially developing as a cottage industry, with some workers completing all the stages of needle production whilst others specialised in certain tasks, during the eighteenth century needle-making machinery was invented and improved, and the small manufactories were incorporated into a single group.<sup>298</sup> In his shop book Thomas Turner recorded in 1763:

Mar 12 Paid a needlemaker from Chichester 9s 3d in full for the following needles bought of him today:

12 ½ hundred Travilors needles 3s 9d,

---

<sup>296</sup> von Boehn, Max, *Modes and Manners*, Vol. I, (London: 1932), p168.

<sup>297</sup> Furnivall, Frederick J. (ed.) *Harrison's Description of England...* (London: 1878), p.169.

<sup>298</sup> *Forge Mill Needle Museum* information booklet, Needle Mill Lane, Redditch, (Worcester: 2003).

1 thousand do. 4s 0d, 100 chapel do.  
1s 0d, ¼ hundred looping 6d.<sup>299</sup>

## Thread

Thirsk comments that thread was needed in quantity for all manner of household goods, aprons, shirts, sheets, napkins, petticoats, *etcetera*. ‘Since by the seventeenth century these articles were commonplace even in the husbandman’s dwelling, not a single family in the kingdom could dispense entirely with thread.’<sup>300</sup>

Considerable variation has been found in quantity, type and quality of threads recorded in the documentary sources, and here too haberdashery was both a necessity and an essential part of the image. At the level of the leisured class, women applied decorative thread to a multiplicity of items including: smocks, caps, shirts, gloves, stockings, stomachers, aprons, kerchiefs, collars, nightwear, waistcoats, and purses. While professional ‘broderers’ were more likely to be employed to complete the thick encrustation of gold, silver and coloured threads on the seventeenth and eighteenth-century embroidered outer garments, threads appropriate to these and other types of fabrics had to be obtained, mostly from mercers or haberdashers.

While it is possible simply to list the considerable number of threads named in inventories, it is a well nigh impossible task to interpret them. White, black, blue, yellow, red, gray, russet and tawny, are all pretty straightforward, but what of whited brown, whited gray, black and brown, white and blue? The word *broken* when applied to colour usually means that it is reduced in tone by the patchy addition of other colours. ‘Broken thread’ therefore might mean patchily dyed, or two different colours spun together, or even short lengths. Similarly, it is believed that Outnall, or utnal, were probably ‘outland’ imported threads, but at present it cannot be shown if they were the same as Dutch, or if Nuns and Sisters were identical threads.

---

<sup>299</sup> Vaisey, David, *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765*, Vaisey suggests that ‘Travilors’ may be a trade name, rather than a type. (Oxford, 1984), p.267.

<sup>300</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978), p.48.

Savary explained the manufacture of silver and gold thread in 1757:

..The wire and thread we commonly call gold thread &c, which only silverwire gilt...is drawn from a large ingot of silver, usually about 30 pound weight. This they round into a cylinder, or roll, about an inch and a half in diameter and 22 inches long; and cover it over with the leaves prepared by the gold beater, laying one over another, till the cover is a good deal thicker than that in our ordinary gilding: and yet even then it is very thin as will easily be conceived from the quantities of gold which goes to gild the 30 pound eight. Two ounces ordinarily do the business, and frequently little more than one...the ingot is successively drawn through the holes of several irons, each smaller than the other, till it be as fine or finer than a hair. Every new hole lessens its diameter, but it gains in length what it loses in thickness, and consequently increases in surface...M. Reaumur states that one ounce of the thread was 3232 feet long and the whole ingot equal to 1,264,400 English feet, or 250 miles - although Mersenne says that an ounce is only equal to 1200 feet.<sup>301</sup>

In the introduction to his verse pattern-book *The Needle's Excellency*, John Taylor included a little poem extolling the virtues of the techniques and stitches to be found in the publication:

For Tent-worke, Raisd-worke, Laid-Worke, Frost-Worke, Net-worke,  
Most curious Purles, or rare Italian Cutworke,  
Fine Ferne-Stitch, Finny-stitch, New-stitch and Chain-stitch,  
Brave Bred-stitch, Fisher-stitch, Irish-stitch and Queene-stitch,  
The Spanish-stitch, Rosemary-stitch and Mow-stitch,  
The smarting Whip-stitch, Back-stitch and the Cross-stitch:  
All these are good, and these we must allow,  
And these are everywhere in practise now.<sup>302</sup>

Several of these terms had vanished from the needle worker's lexicon before the printing of the nineteenth-century *Dictionary of Needlework*, and one is left to wonder if, for example Fisher-stitch or Finny-stitch, are versions of Fish Scale embroidery as described in the *Dictionary*. It can be seen, however, that alongside the references to be found in inventories to 'new style' items, this poem also commends the novelty of these decorative designs (see Fig.15). The title-page engraving includes the

---

<sup>301</sup> Savary, M., *A Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, Three Volumes, Postlethwayt, Malachy (trans.), (London: 1757), p.9.

<sup>302</sup> Taylor, John, *The Needle's Excellency*, twelfth edition, (London: 1640), quoted in Jones, Ann Rosalind, and P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000), p. 134.

subheading 'A new book wherein are divers Admirable Works wrought with the Needle. Newly invented and cut in Copper for the pleasure and profit of the Industrious,' beneath which appear, note Jones and Stallybrass, 'allegorical figures with high-fashion costume..Wisdom, in a brocade gown and high ruff, reads a devotional manual...while Industrie works on a cushion and Follie attempts to distract them.'<sup>303</sup>

Such pattern-books, while still preserving women in their correct role of obedient domesticity, were allowing them to take part in a public sphere through choice of printed designs that they could adapt and use in their own way. That this happened is shown in *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, in which the inclusion of two illustrations from a 1624 publication *A Scholehouse for the Needle* by Richard Shorleyker is compared with a linen shirt, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum's Textile Collection. Several designs from both pages appear on the shirt, some very faithful to the originals, some with slight adaptations (see Figs 16 & 17). By encouraging the reader to participate in the fashionable pastime of fancy needlework, this type of publication stimulated a demand for such haberdashery items as a variety of threads, and needles.

## Review of Haberdashery Wares

As has been shown, the definition of haberdashery smallwares as gleaned from contemporary reference, encompasses a wide range of items that were available for both functional and decorative purposes.

The sheer diversity of objects, style and materials involved is indicative of the needs of clothes-making, both for construction and embellishment, and for the fashion-driven requirements of external show. The huge demand for points and laces, buttons, spangles, needles, pins, threads and all the other haberdashery items, was catered for by designers, manufacturers and tradesmen, and many thousands of people's livelihoods depended upon the continuing consumption of such wares.

---

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid*, p. 138.

# Chapter 3

## Traders in Haberdashery Smallwares

This chapter opens with a discussion of the sources and methodology to be used for investigating the haberdashery traders. It then covers the selection of geographical areas on which the study will focus in order to demonstrate national changes through time in both provision and use of small wares. Finally it goes on to examine the history of retailing and of the haberdashery traders themselves.

### Primary source (documentary) evidence

Probate inventories, in the words of Nancy Cox, form ‘one of the most important sources available to early-modern historians of material culture,’<sup>304</sup> and they exist in their thousands, possibly even millions, in Record Offices and muniment rooms throughout this country, often still unread. By the acts of 1529<sup>305</sup>, which are those in effect at the beginning of this period of study, executors were required to list and value the goods and chattels of a deceased person.<sup>306</sup> Where the departed had been a tradesperson, the result – depending on the appraiser – could be a highly informative document itemising and pricing the goods and the moveable fittings in the shop. Although inventories have been used for historical study for at least a century, initially, as Malcolm Wanklyn comments ‘extracts (and sometimes complete inventories) were incorporated into family histories where their purpose was to provide colour or to serve as illustrative material.’<sup>307</sup> Subsequently their value as a research tool has been recognised and collections of inventories have been transcribed

---

<sup>304</sup> Cox, N., *Retailing and Consumption 1550-1820: an Analytical and Methodological Approach*, PhD thesis (by publication), University of Wolverhampton (2001).

<sup>305</sup> 21 Henry VIII c.5 and c.6.

<sup>306</sup> For a clear guide to the legal requirements see Cox, N. and J., ‘Probate Inventories: The Legal Background- Part 1’, *The Local Historian*, Vol.16, No.3, Aug., (1984), and ‘Probate Inventories: The Legal Background- Part 2’ *The Local Historian*, Vol.16, No.4, Nov., (1984).

<sup>307</sup> Wanklyn, Malcolm (ed.), *Inventories of Worcestershire Landed Gentry 1537-1786*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 16, (1998), p.xi, for example *The Lady Newton, The House of Lyme* (London: 1917).



and published for a wide variety of interests and reasons.<sup>308</sup> My collection of such documents forms the backbone of the earlier period of this study.

As with any source inventories have to be used with care, and attention to their shortcomings. Despite her own successful employment of probate inventories in *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*<sup>309</sup> Margaret Spufford warns against relying too much on their exclusive use without substantiating documentation. In 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory'<sup>310</sup> she details such drawbacks: the lack of 'real estate' valuation; insufficient information about occupations, dual occupations and social status; the detailing only of movable goods; 'missing' items through prior bequests or theft; the presence, or otherwise, of wife's belongings; and the greater proportion of middling group inventories. One can add to this list that inventories were drawn up with no reference to the trader's stocktaking calendar – just before or just after the arrival of a consignment could make a considerable difference to the quantity of goods available. Small retail outlets with a limited catchment area would not expect to carry large stocks of wares. Additionally, although in some instances it is possible to tell that a person was at the beginning or the end of his trading life, such personal details are often unknown yet might have a bearing on shop contents. In the same way, the cause of the death that has prompted the inventory may have had a serious impact on the stock over the preceding period of time. For example, a protracted illness might have led to the gradual decay of a previously thriving business.

---

<sup>308</sup> Wanklyn, *op cit*, p.xxii, notes the collections edited by Emmison, F.G. in 1938, and Steer, F. in 1950 as pioneers in the field with, respectively, studies of Jacobean household inventories and Mid-Essex farm and cottage inventories.

Published collections are now numerous. Trinder and Cox (eds), *Yeomen and Colliers*, (1980), and Trinder and Cox (eds), *Miners and Mariners*, (2000), are the results of several years' work from research classes run by Barrie Trinder in Shropshire to transcribe probate inventories and to study the evidence of the material culture they portrayed. Overton, *Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*, (1983), gives a useful, but now dated list of publications on probate. For the large scale use of inventories as a source see also Mark Overton's ESRC funded study of domestic valuations using 16,000 inventories from four counties through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

<sup>309</sup> Spufford, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century*, (Cambridge: 1984).

<sup>310</sup> See Spufford, M., 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', in Chartres, J. and D. Hey, (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800*, (Cambridge: 1990), pp.139-174.

While acknowledging that the limitations noted by Spufford impose restrictions on certain types of investigation, such as personal clothing which is not well documented,<sup>311</sup> the nature of this study is such that the inherent problems of probate inventories are mostly immaterial or surmountable, indeed some can almost be seen as advantageous. For example, this sample of inventories has the potential to be more representative as a cross section of a trading group than could be claimed for domestic inventories as a cross section of the general public. Numerically, surviving documentation favours the 'middling sort' and those are the most likely to belong to the trading group. Additionally, in order to avoid the problems of undisclosed debts, surviving relatives of small-unit retailers were more likely to opt for the expense of probate than were the relatives of non-retail deceased. Traders are thus a little more likely to be recorded in documentary form than are non-traders.

Critics of this source, including Spufford, have also reiterated a traditional view regarding the unreliability of the amateur valuation and faulty mathematics of probate inventories. Cox and Cox, however, have demonstrated the numerical accuracy of traders' inventories<sup>312</sup> and shown that clear evidence exists to indicate frequent use of appraisers from within the trade, well aware of current market values. In fact, for the purposes of this study the accuracy of the valuations over all is, on the whole, irrelevant. Valuations are important within each inventory, in that numerically they demonstrate the availability of a variety of different types, sizes, and qualities of merchandise per trader, and can perhaps be compared with other inventories of a similar date, but since the all-important factor of the quality of the wares in question can never be resolved, it is not anticipated that a valid costing comparison could ever be made over anything but a localised area and a short time span.

Spufford uses the example of shirts 'disappearing' from Sussex inventories to warn that an 'increased rarity of comment...perversely argues a spread of usage.'

However, that also can be seen as an advantage since, as Cox notes 'Haberdashery

---

<sup>311</sup> Although clothing was included in inventories, occasionally in rich and informative detail, for the most part after about 1600 they were more often subsumed into an overall valuation of '...his purse and apparel.'

<sup>312</sup> Cox, N. and J., 'Valuations in Probate Inventories- Part 1', *The Local Historian*, Vol.16, No.8, Nov., (1985); 'Valuations in Probate Inventories- Part 2', *The Local Historian*, Vol.17, No.2, May, (1986).

may serve as a second indicator of small shops, since it is found plentifully in retail outlets of all types, yet has not been noted in domestic inventories'.<sup>313</sup> In effect, the presence of quantities of saleable haberdashery type goods is more likely to indicate a small, untitled, retail unit because such items are too commonplace to be noted in domestic inventories.

Additionally, although appraisers were ostensibly following the same legal guidelines, all documents are as different, and as idiosyncratic, as the scribes who produced them, and in some instances these can provide fragments of information that could not reach us in any other way. For example, an area of considerable interest when discussing the sale of smallwares in the early modern period is the means by which the seller displayed the goods and caught the attention of potential customers.<sup>314</sup> Three of the Hampshire inventories shared entries for what can only be interpreted as a display cabinet:

Glevins:1592 ...small wares in the **showe** w't iiij ov'r glasses

Stevens :1609 ... the wares that is in **shooe**

Vibert : 1622 ...other wares in & about the **show**

These objects themselves may not have been uncommon, although they do not appear in dictionaries in this form, neither do they occur in any other inventory in the sample. It is possible that they have often been subsumed into the regularly occurring 'shelves and boxes about the shop' and they were articles of display so normal in the seventeenth century as to not be worth mentioning. Yet this small detail pertinent to retailing display has gone unseen until the coincidental analysis of three inventories dealing with the same type of retailers in the same county, where the appraisers had a word for it.<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>313</sup> Cox, N., 'The distribution of retailing tradesmen in north Shropshire 1660-1750', *Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 13/1, (1993), pp. 4-22.

<sup>314</sup> See Cox, N., *The Complete Tradesman: a Study of Retailing, 1550-1820*, (Aldershot: 2000).

<sup>315</sup> Glevins, Jesse of Newport, Isle of Wight, HRO 1592 A 045/1-2. Stevens, Luke, of New Lymington, Mercer.1608. HRO 1609 A70/2. Vibert, Lambert, Winchester, Hampshire. HRO 1622 A69/2. Claire Walsh notes a similar item in the much later inventory of Martha Braithwaite, a London goldsmith in 1746. Walsh, C., 'The Retailing Industry', in Mokyr, J., (ed. in chief), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History*, Vol. 4, (Oxford: 2003), p.370.

Even the less detailed documents, or those where unit prices cannot be isolated from composite totals, are useful for their demonstration of the markets for such wares. They imply the potential demand, indicate the spread of specialist traders, and add detail to current knowledge of the distribution of retail provision. In short, the evidence from these documents shows what wares were available for the purchasing public in that place, on that date. When fully analysed, this selection of itemised inventories will contribute to the debate on the reliability of probate material as a source, by supplying information regarding consistency of supply through time and in diverse regions. This sample creates a unique overview of haberdashery available in specific places in the early modern period, together with values, and details of the multiplicity of its retailers; it lays the foundation for further consideration of the status relationships between traders, goods and customers.

Alongside the inventories is a selection of diaries and account books, aimed to show the day-to-day presence of haberdashery wares. Naturally these too have their limitations: they can only be seen as personal records, not typical of any one group; unlike probate inventories they were not required to conform to any set of legal rules or even to be recorded with any consistency; they were produced for none but personal reasons; being in a position to be able to write a diary has already pre-selected the author into membership of a literate elite, however basic that literacy might have been. In addition, while inventories exist to a greater or lesser extent nationwide, the survival of early-modern diaries has been random and infrequent, and many potential sites for the focus of this study have no appropriate diaries. Nevertheless, as noted by Malcolm Wanklyn 'diaries and account books often allow the reader to observe change over time.' and several of the personal record books used here do just that.

As noted in Chapter 1, advertisements inserted in newspapers are suited to the consideration of wares from the mid-eighteenth century, together with the clothing details to be found in announcements dealing with runaway servants and apprentices. However, although some newspaper announcements were concerned with traders changing address or taking delivery of goods, for the most part they were more impersonal than trade cards. Cards, which were distributed by hand and thus to

individuals rather than a general readership, frequently drew upon the design for the trader's shop sign and address, suitably simplified or enhanced by the artist-engraver, in combination with either the tools of the trade or the manufactured wares. These were often contained within an elaborate cartouche or border, and were accompanied by description of the wares available. Constructed in association with the Wolverhampton University *Dictionary Project*, my database contains details from 441 trade cards. 'Trade cards are a subtle reflection of the manners of an age and the characters of their owners,' remarks John Lewis<sup>316</sup> and the interpretation of both design and wording used in these small but important artefacts can not only be instructive as to what haberdashery goods were available and where they could be purchased, but can also reveal the tradesman's underlying aspirations.

It might be claimed that the above range of criteria gives too many aspects to set against each other – attempting to reach conclusions through the comparison of unrelated factors. In response I would argue that this study does not aim to be a quantifying, statistical report, but instead seeks to paint the larger picture through the observation of details. It should be remembered that, as noted in the introduction, the diversity of the subject necessitates information being gleaned from a variety of sources. While for example, the inventory valuations of the contents a shop's buttons cannot be directly compared with the values of buttons on the clothes of an absconding servant mentioned in a newspaper advertisement, it is possible to compare and reflect on the importance attached to the wares involved.

## The Focus Counties

The most northerly area of those finally selected for sampling, Cumberland, still suffered in the 1600s from the long term effects of war and Border violence, and remained a somewhat isolated county until the improved road systems of the eighteenth century. The population was scattered over rough terrain, most commonly

---

<sup>316</sup> Lewis, John, *Printed Ephemera: The changing use of type and letterforms in English and American Printing*, (London: 1969), p.95.

in small villages, often in mere hamlets.<sup>317</sup> Methods of agricultural improvement were slow to take effect, and communications were difficult. 'Its a Long way for ye market people to goe but they and their horses are used to it.' Celia Fiennes wrote in 1695 of the Penrith stretch of her Cumbrian travels<sup>318</sup>. Natural resources in the form of power (water, coal and timber) were good, but although mining was carried on, the poor transport, both road and coastal, did not facilitate the growth of industrial undertakings until the mid-eighteenth century.

The manufacture of woollen textiles had been established long before 1500, aided by the invention of fulling mills, the earliest example of which is recorded in 1185 at Newsham, Yorkshire, only twenty miles east of the ancient villages of Brough and Kirkby Stephen in Cumberland.<sup>319</sup> The historiography of the region appears to confirm the traditional belief that the cloths fulled in these mills were woven at home, or put out to a local weaver, from yarn domestically spun for home use. However, more recent work on changes in production, scale and commodification has questioned these 'assumptions of northern self-sufficiency'. It would seem unlikely that the expense of construction of machinery and housing for fulling cloth would be undertaken solely for the use of local weavers, producing goods for home use. In a paper presented to the *Design History Conference*, Manchester, January 1992, John Styles commented that the eighteenth-century writer, Sir Frederick Eden, whose work *The State of the Poor* was strongly influential in perpetuating belief in the northern tradition of home made clothing, intentionally misrepresented the north as self-sufficient and thus 'moral', and commercially backward. Styles' own work does not confirm Eden's comments.<sup>320</sup> Indeed, there was 'a thriving industry in Kendal cloth.' 'Kendal green', first dyed yellow by means of dyer's broom and then blue by means of woad to produce the final green, was sufficiently well known to become a

---

<sup>317</sup> Bouch, C.M.L., and G.P. Jones, *The Lake Counties 1500-1830*, (Manchester: 1961).

<sup>318</sup> Morris, Christopher, (ed.), *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes 1685-c.1712*, (London: 1947).

<sup>319</sup> Kerridge, Eric, 'Wool growing and wool textiles in medieval and modern times' in Jenkins, J. Geraint (ed.), *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain*, (London: 1972).

<sup>320</sup> Styles, John, 'Clothing the North: The supply of Non-Elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile History*, 25, (1994).

generic term for a type and colour of woollen cloth,<sup>321</sup> and other coarsely woven woollen cloths.

Hand knitted stocking manufacture also employed a number of people, either as a main or secondary occupation. Thirsk notes that as early as the 1590s stocking knitting was an immense industry, employing both men and women knitters, and that Cumberland was among the counties involved.<sup>322</sup> Since stockings being exported to Ireland from Chester in the late 1570s appeared in vessels whose cargo also included Kendal cottons, it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the stockings may well have originated in Cumbria, as well as the knitting district of Richmond in Yorkshire, as Thirsk suggests.<sup>323</sup> Willan notes that in 1768 Abraham Dent, acting as a middleman in Kirkby Stephen, Cumbria, sold 670 dozen pairs of stockings worth over £400, and the following year sales were up to £742.<sup>324</sup> The manufacture of wares made of cotton began during the second half of the eighteenth century, together with calico printing in Carlisle, while other textile production continued to use the locally grown flax and hemp.

Lancashire in the late sixteenth century was predominantly comprised of small agricultural holdings; there was some oat growing, with more wheat in the south west of the county. Farmers and yeomen lived mainly off their animals, although cloth production was becoming an important subsidiary domestic industry.<sup>325</sup> The principal raw materials were flax from west Lancashire, and later considerable quantities from Ireland, and wool from the Pennines. Some weavers came to concentrate wholly on weaving, acquiring loom-shops and employing workers, but the domestic system of family spinning and weaving for a chapman or clothier survived, despite specialisation in the eighteenth century, until the arrival of power looms in the nineteenth century. Linens such as 'Preston cloth' and 'Stockport cloth' were mainly

---

<sup>321</sup> Bouch, C.M.L., and G.P., Jones, *The Lake Counties 1500-1830*, (Manchester: 1961), p.136, n.2.

<sup>322</sup> Thirsk, Joan, *Economic Policy and Projects, The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: 1979), p.45.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid*, p.125.

<sup>324</sup> Willan, T.S., *An eighteenth-century shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester: 1970), p. 74-5.

<sup>325</sup> Gooderson, P.J., *A History of Lancashire*, (London: 1980); Butterworth, E., *A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, (Lancaster: 1841).

for the home market, the coarse cloth selling in Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Berkshire and Wales<sup>326</sup> - but even in Elizabeth's reign Lancashire woollens, known as Manchester cottons, were being exported, with Rouen as the chief continental market.<sup>327</sup> By the mid-1600s Lancashire was becoming more prosperous with a growing population and healthy development of agricultural practices.

In the late seventeenth century the East India Company began to import quantities of calicoes and muslin made entirely of cotton, from India, Persia and China. The failure of sundry Acts of Parliament to encourage the unsettled English woollen industry, led to the first Act of Parliament in 1701 which attempted to stop the import of:

all wrought silks, Bengalls, and stuffs mixed with silk or herbs, of the manufacture of Persia, China or East Indies and all calicos painted, dyed, printed or stained there which shall be imported into this kingdom, shall not be worn or otherwise used within this kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed.<sup>328</sup>

However, the cottons were so popular that printing works grew rapidly in order to pattern plain fabric, indeed in 1711 English printers computed that they had printed one million yards of calico in the year.<sup>329</sup> 'The 1721 ban on almost all cottons officially eliminated the small amounts of pure-cotton textiles being manufactured in Britain.'<sup>330</sup> However, successive amendments intended to enforce the prohibition on the wearing, printing or dyeing of calicoes in England were finally repealed in 1774 and Lancashire benefited from an immediate expansion of English cotton cloth production.

---

<sup>326</sup> Lowe, Norman, *Lancashire Textile Industry in the Sixteenth Century*, p.11, quoted in Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects*, (1988), p.145.

<sup>327</sup> Gooderson, *History of Lancashire*, (London: 1980), pp.62.

<sup>328</sup> 11 and 12 Will. III, c.10, quoted in Lemire, Beverley, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Oxford: 1991), p.31.

<sup>329</sup> Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Oxford: 1991), p.32.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid*, p.77.



In 1724 a three-volume set of travel books were published under the title: 'Macky's Travels in three Vols.' *A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from A Gentleman Here to His Friend Abroad.*'<sup>331</sup>

...except for the noble Seat of the Earl of Warrington's, there is not anything remarkable in Lancashire, but good neighbourhood and plenty... p.164..I ferry'd over to Liverpool, the Third town in England for Trade, especilly to the Plantations..it is a large fine built town, some Merchants having Houses that in Italy would pass for Palaces..They have made a fine Dock here, for the Security of their Shipping... Preston, by its situation, the Handsomeness of the Streets, and the Variety of Company that came there for the Conveniency of Boarding, is reckoned next to St. Edmund's Bury in Suffolk, Ludlow in Wales, and Beverly in Yorkshire, the prettiest Retirement in England.<sup>332</sup>

With Liverpool as a growing port and Manchester evolving as a manufacturing centre, Lancashire was one of the developing counties of the eighteenth century. During the 1700s Manchester, noted as a cloth market from the sixteenth century, together with Bolton, Rochdale and several other towns, expanded with the growth of the cloth industry. Important in the earlier years for fustians - a mixture of cotton and flax - they later benefited from the popularity of cotton cloth. Liverpool's eighteenth-century growth can be attributed to its success as a port. Exporting Manchester cottons and Birmingham ironwares to West Africa, it imported West Indian sugar for home consumption or re-export, and provided the apex to the notorious slavery triangle. Coastal trade was important for the collection and distribution of goods, although inland communications were slowly improving; in 1760 it was a three-day journey to London by stagecoach, and seven days by wagon. Defoe himself noted the vigour of the Lancashire trade in the 1720s and remarked in his *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* that:

all this part of the country is so considerable for its trade, that the Post-Master General has thought fit to establish a cross-post thro' all the western part of England...The shopkeepers and manufacturers can correspond with their dealers at

---

<sup>331</sup> Macky's Travels in three Volumes, BL, 1608.163, *A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from A Gentleman Here to His Friend Abroad*, (London: 1732), (first edition, 1724), Vol. II dated 1732 with introduction dated 1723 [sic].

<sup>332</sup> Macky's Travels, *op cit*, pp.164, 166,167.

Manchester, Liverpool and Bristol...without the tedious interruption of sending their letters about by London.'<sup>333</sup>

Lemire comments:

The vigour of Manchester-based wholesalers and retailers limited London's role in the distributive network, consolidating the Lancashire centre not only as the hub of manufacture but also of distribution, an aspect not previously identified.<sup>334</sup>

On the subject of Manchester, Macky wrote:

Before I leave Lancashire, I can't but take notice of Manchester, which is ten times more populous than Preston. Manchester is famous for its Collegiate Church, and Choir..a Noble Hospital...a flourishing School, and extraordinary Library, and returns more Money in one Month than Preston does in fifteen.

For the Midlands section of this study, Leicestershire, until the late seventeenth century, was predominantly a rural, agricultural and pastoral county, with some extractive industry (coal and slate) but little or no manufacturing. Even the larger places were involved simply in performing their established market town functions with economies based on rural trades, and with malting, milling and some woollen manufacturing as agriculturally based ancillary activities.<sup>335</sup> Despite that, Leicestershire produced five Lord Mayors to the City of London, four of whom were – rather surprisingly - in the fabrics and smallwares trades: Jeffry Fielding, of Lutterworth, Mercer, 1451; William Heriot, of Seagrave, Draper, 1481; Robert Bellesdon, of Queningsborough, Haberdasher, 1483; and George Bolles, grocer, 1717.<sup>336</sup>

It is claimed that the county's first knitting frame, originally invented by William Lee in 1589, was installed in Hinkley in 1640 following Lee's brother James' return from Paris. Undoubtedly, once begun, the development of the local framework knitting

---

<sup>333</sup> Defoe, Daniel, *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, ii, (London: 1966), pp.188-189.

<sup>334</sup> Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Oxford: 1991), p.113.

<sup>335</sup> Pye, N., (ed.), *Leicester and its Region*, (Leicester: 1972), p.363 and *passim*.

<sup>336</sup> *Magna Britannia*, six volumes. *Cambden's Topography* with 'additions by an Impartial Hand', Vol. II, Gloucestershire to Lincolnshire. (London: 1720), p.1339.

industry, using worsted as opposed to the silk of the London based industry, was rapid and 1795 it was estimated that 43 per cent of the county population was dependent upon one branch or another of the trade.<sup>337</sup> Macky commented:

The inhabitants [of Leicester] have by their Industry greatly improved the Manufacture of Stockings..Leicester has but one Market a week, viz. on Saturday, which is very plentifully supply'd with all Manner of Provisions.<sup>338</sup>

Transport within Leicestershire was poor, both by water and road, until the 1726 turnpike trust was established to maintain the road between London and Leicester. Even then public services were slow to develop; the weekly horse chaise from London to Leicester in 1753 was replaced by a stagecoach six years later and eventually, in 1764, there were two coaches making the journey within a single day.

In contrast with Leicestershire, by the sixteenth century Warwickshire had developed several flourishing industries based on medieval manufactures and, having scant river transport, roads were important although still of poor quality until the early 1700s,<sup>339</sup> which must have benefited Macky on his journey. ‘.. From Coventry in three Hours, I got to the pretty Town of Warwick.’<sup>340</sup> Like Lancashire, Warwickshire also had two major towns: Coventry, which suffered a gradual decline through the early modern period and Birmingham, which was emerging as a manufacturing force. Early industrial prosperity in Warwickshire was based on the wool trade, and several members of the Staple company came from Coventry. In 1377 the town was judged to be the largest city in population after London, Bristol and York, and in 1465 becoming one of only four provincial mint towns had further increased its importance.<sup>341</sup> As cloth manufacture declined from the sixteenth century other related trades came into prominence; cap making, which later was focused on north-east Warwickshire; ribbon weaving, commented upon by Defoe in 1720; blue thread-making, reviving a trade of medieval origin; and glove making, although this industry

---

<sup>337</sup> Nichols, J., *History and antiquities of the county of Leicester*, (1795), p.620, confirmed by Redford, A., *Labour migration in England, 1800-1850*, (London: 1926), p.45.

<sup>338</sup> Macky's Travels, *A Journey Through England* Vol. II, (London: 1732), p.192.

<sup>339</sup> Slater, T., *A History of Warwickshire*, (London and Chichester: 1981), p. 94 and *passim*.

<sup>340</sup> Macky's Travels, *op cit*, p.183.

<sup>341</sup> Clark, Sally, unpublished M.A. (History) thesis: ‘Confraternities: A Study of Religious Guilds in Fifteenth-Century England with Specific Reference to Gilds in Coventry, Lichfield and Stratford-upon-Avon,’ (University of Warwick, January 1992).

was more especially connected with Stratford. By the 1660s Coventry also had an established watch making trade. Macky did not like Coventry:

Coventry is a very large, but an ill-built dirty City, consisting mostly of old Buildings: but the market place is spacious, and its Cross in the Middle, the finest in England..The Trade of the Place consists in Weaving.<sup>342</sup>

The town of Birmingham, so famous for all manner of Iron-Work, is not far from hence [Lichfield] and it's incredible the Number of People maintained by those Iron and Bath-Metal Works, and the great Perfection they have brought 'em to; furnishing all Europe with their Toys, as Sword-Hilts, Screws, Buttons, Buckles and innumerable other works.<sup>343</sup>

Birmingham's importance was indeed built on its variety of metal manufacturing trades although its real prosperity was based upon its ironmongers, the dealing middlemen.<sup>344</sup> The greatest trade was in 'toys' ranging from tools and implements to the 'light toy' trade of buckles, brooches, small chains, thimbles, pins (but not needles which were produced in Studley and nearby Redditch), and hooks and eyes. The production of metal buttons was of particular significance towards the latter end of the eighteenth century and glass making was stimulated by a fashion demand for glass buttons. Together with the availability of materials, power and/or market<sup>345</sup> the expansion of the numerous small businesses within the metal trades in Birmingham and to the west, the Black Country, was aided by the absence of the economic controls of a medieval guild system. In addition, the town gained greatly from the building of the canals, the Grand Trunk Canal being opened in 1767 and a navigable canal between Birmingham and the Black Country coalfields was started in 1768, which enabled the more efficient movement of raw materials and finished wares. Eventually Birmingham was at the centre of a network of canal routes that could connect nationwide.<sup>346</sup>

---

<sup>342</sup> Macky's Travels, *op cit*, Vol. II, p.181.

<sup>343</sup> Macky's Travels, *op cit*, p.181.

<sup>344</sup> Court, W.H.B., *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838*, (London: 1938); Rowlands, M., *A History of Industry in Birmingham*, (Birmingham: 1977); Timmins, S., *The Resources Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, (London: 1865).

<sup>345</sup> For the relativity of items to materials/power/market see Rowlands, M., *Masters and Men*, (Manchester: 1975).

<sup>346</sup> Upton, C., *A History of Birmingham*, (Chichester: 1993), 90-91.

Winchester, the county town of Hampshire, was partly guild controlled from the time of its first Guild Merchant in the reign of Henry I in the early twelfth century, while still retaining the essential freedoms of burgess tenure and a regular city court.<sup>347</sup> In the late fifteenth century the mercers, grocers and haberdashers formed a single guild,<sup>348</sup> officially linking together trades whose wares, as inventory evidence shows, have apparently always overlapped.

..Through Farnham..[to] two market towns called Altan and Alesford, both of them better built than many Corporations I have seen that send Members to Parliament..  
..The Ancient City of Winchester lies like an Amphitheatre in a Bottom, surrounded with Chalky Hills, which compose a fine Down for many miles.<sup>349</sup>

Hampshire had always been an important county with a number of factors contributing to its wealth and influence: its position in the centre of southern England; the fact that Winchester had once been the national capital; its proximity to London; and its coast with natural harbours allowing easy access to Europe.<sup>350</sup> While the fortunes of Southampton, the original county town, declined in the mid-fifteen hundreds, Portsmouth grew in importance with the establishment of the permanent home for the navy, and definite status as a corporate borough in 1600.

From Winchester, ...I arrived at Portsmouth, the Key of England, and by its situation in the Middle of the Channel, the general Rendezvous of the Fleets... In short it is reckon'd among the principal Chambers of the Kingdom for laying up the Royal Navy: and since the late wars, has been the constant Rendezvous of the Grand Fleets, and of the Squadrons..by which means 'tis so increased and inrich'd, that those that knew it fifty years ago, wou'd scarce believe it to be the same Place. The Civil Government of the Corporation is by a Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, Baliffs and Common Council. It has two Markets weekly, on Thursday and Saturday, and a Fair on he first of July, but Provisions, though the adjacent County is plentiful, are very dear, by reason of the vast concourse of Land and Sea Officers, Soldiers and Seamen always crowding hither. The Town lies low, and so the Air is neither wholesome, nor the streets cleanly; but these are Inconveniences which profit and Business easily dispense with.<sup>351</sup>

There were twenty-four market towns in the seventeenth century, of which five had Merchant Guilds, and during the markets and fairs held within the county a not

---

<sup>347</sup> Carpenter Turner, B., *A History of Hampshire*, (London: 1963), p.30.

<sup>348</sup> Biddle, M., (gen. ed.), *Medieval Winchester*, Vol. I, (Oxford: 1985).

<sup>349</sup> Macky's Travels, *A Journey Through England*, Vol. II, (London: 1732), p.13.

<sup>350</sup> Carpenter Turner, B., *op cit*, p.5.

<sup>351</sup> Macky's Travels, *op cit*, p.29.

inconsiderable quantity of luxury wares, including wine, silks, foreign fruits and spices, were sold by traders from France, Spain, the Low Countries and Italy.<sup>352</sup>

Mixed soils made Hampshire suitable for a variety of agricultural specialisations, but in particular for the breeding of sheep, such as the small heath sheep in the west of the county, which provided the origins of the county's merchant prosperity. The timber of the New Forest supplied the needs of several small shipyards, and from 1712 streams provided power for a number of paper mills. Small towns had prosperous textile producing domestic industries, and there were silk mills at Winchester, Whitchurch and Overton. Poor road conditions were improved considerably in the early eighteenth century and in 1753 'A Guide To Coaches' was published giving a long alphabetical list of towns linked by regular services and the London inns from which the journeys commenced.<sup>353</sup>

Despite the turbulence of the Reformation, the agricultural riots and the Civil War, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Sussex retained a surprising degree of stability and prosperity.<sup>354</sup> In the 1500s there had been a rapid expansion of small iron foundries; Richard Gough's 1789 edition of Camden's 1586 *Britannia* notes:

several veins of iron, and many furnaces for melting it which consume great quantities of wood every year. Many streams unite..into lakes and pools to turn mills which move hammers to work iron..Nor are glass houses wanting here; but the glass they make..[is] fit only for common use...The inner parts of the county being thick set with villages have nothing very remarkable.<sup>355</sup>

However, by the late seventeenth century the exhaustion of the local fuel noticed by Camden took most of the iron and glass industries elsewhere, and from a total of 115 ironworks in 1575 less than 60 remained in 1653.<sup>356</sup>

---

<sup>352</sup> Carpenter Turner, B., *A History of Hampshire*, (London: 1963), p.32.

<sup>353</sup> Box, E.G., 'Hampshire in early maps and early road books', *Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society Proceedings*, Vol. XII, pt.3, (1934).

<sup>354</sup> Lowerson, J., *A Short History of Sussex*, (Folkestone: 1980).

<sup>355</sup> Copley, G.J., (ed.), *Camden's Britannia, Surrey and Sussex*, (London: 1977).

<sup>356</sup> Fletcher, A., *A County Community in Peace and War. Sussex, 1600-1660*, (London: 1975), p.17 and *passim*.

Clearance of the Weald - the northern part of the county – first begun in the early medieval period, continued slowly in the sixteenth century, with outbreaks of local resistance to enclosure in such areas of common land as Ashdown Forest, where wealthy, land hungry ‘improvers’ attempted to expand their estates. The more intensive uses of ploughed land, and labour, which benefited the arable areas of the Midlands and East Anglia after enclosure, were ill suited to the soil and rural structure of Sussex. With the exception of hops, most projects for agricultural improvement were defeated by the local conditions.

In the sixteenth century widespread sheep farming was augmented by the steady expansion of breeding other livestock. Sheep were kept for folding on the arable land to the south and the improvement of harvests in the 1650s encouraged the growth of a sea-borne exporting trade. Chichester, with a population exceeding 2,500, became a prosperous grain *entrepôt*, although the fortunes of other ports and fishing towns were varied since fishing and coastal merchants suffered considerably from both French competition and Channel piracy. Eighteenth-century prosperity was also founded on the extensive marketing of cattle, sheep and horses, with the improved ‘Southdown’ sheep developed by John Ellman in the 1770s. Macky described Chichester as:

a pretty little city in the form of a Cross, walled round, with a Gate at the Entry of each of the four streets, answering to the four quarters of the World; which are neater than most of the Country Towns I have seen. Tho' it is but three miles from the sea, its situation is so very flat and low, that you have no view of it from the City; a mile from which, at Dell Key, is a small Harbour, where, at high water, Vessels may come in, which export a great quantity of Wheat and Timber to London, and several other Ports of the Kingdom.<sup>357</sup>

Due in part to its proximity to London, Sussex had a substantial number of magnates, and the eighteenth century saw considerable rebuilding of country seats and reordering of ornamental parks. By the later eighteenth century ‘turnpiking’, initially funded by local grandees, improved the notoriously bad road systems and although aimed primarily to facilitate the transport of the aristocracy and their goods,

---

<sup>357</sup> Macky's Travels, *A Journey Through England*, Vol. II, (London: 1732), p.129.

they additionally opened up the new coastal resorts and serviced the network of local markets.<sup>358</sup>

In her paper, 'Change and stability in seventeenth-century London',<sup>359</sup> Professor Valerie Pearl notes that a number of recent histories portray a 'view of the city dissolving into administrative chaos, conflict and economic anarchy' with 'a large masterless population living on or below the poverty line and physically segregated into poor areas..<sup>360</sup> Her own findings, however, note an advanced system of poor relief, and less criminal activity and violence than has formerly been pictured, together with a liberal attitude to political thinking, and thriving educational opportunities. In her discussion of how far the social and economic patterns of medieval society had survived into the seventeenth century she comments that even by 1638 '...social segregation into rigidly divided rich and poor quarters within London had not developed. Even in the richest parishes there were considerable enclaves of poor dwellings.'<sup>361</sup> These findings were verified by a work-in-progress paper, 'The living standards of the labouring poor: wages and pensions in seventeenth-century London' presented by Jeremy Boulton, Newcastle University, to the Social History Society Conference, *Consumption, Standards of Living and Quality of Life*, January 1993.

Giovanni Botero, whose *Treatise Concerning ....the Greatness of Cities* was translated in 1606, postulated that three conditions promoted their development: the presence of Royalty and Parliament; the site of Courts of Justice; and the residence of the nobility. The importance of the latter was not only because such noblemen brought with them their people and family but also because, Botero claims, they spend more 'through the emulation of others' in the city where they had a wide acquaintance and numerous visitors, than in the country where they lived 'among the brute beast of the field and converseth with plaine country people and [go] apparelled

---

<sup>358</sup> Lowerson, J., *A Short History of Sussex*, (Folkestone: 1980), p.114.

<sup>359</sup> Pearl, V., 'Change and stability in seventeenth-century London', in Barry, J., (ed.), *The Tudor and Stuart Town*, (London: 1990), pp.139-65.

<sup>360</sup> Among others Prof. Pearl cites: Clark, P. and P. Slack, (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, (London: 1972); Hill, C., *The World Turned Upside Down*, (London: 1972).

<sup>361</sup> Pearl, V., *op cit*, p.146.



among them in plain and simple garments.’<sup>362</sup> F.J. Fisher points out that this, the wealthy stream, was only one of two flooding into London in the early seventeenth century. The other was formed of landowners easing the strains caused by rising costs, and abandoning their second household in the country in favour of one home in the city, yet retaining ‘the tastes and habits of the class from which they came’.<sup>363</sup> For the purposes of this study, it is particularly apt that at the time of development for the selected provincial sites, the ‘metropolitan comparison’ should also be undergoing its major expansion. Professor Pearl's paper makes it possible to define the development and availability of wares in seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century London in terms and proportions - such as those dealing with free men, guild restrictions, mixed dwelling/status habitations - which can be usefully compared with the other towns in the sample.

## Traders of Haberdashery

The origins of the word ‘haberdashery’ are obscure, and the use seems always to have been open to a variety of interpretations. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century the goods encompassed by the term had a mutable relationship with the retailer who stocked them. By definition ‘haberdashery’ was that which a haberdasher chose to sell, but the evidence of retailers' inventories indicates that wares so called would generally be small and usually for personal wear or adornment.

The OED notes the use of the word ‘hapertas’<sup>364</sup> of ‘unknown origin, perhaps the name of a fabric’ in the context of medieval ‘Anglo-French customs lists of imported peltry, furs and fabrics, where a parallel and nearly contemporary list has ‘haberdassherie.’ It goes on to point out ‘But the English word may, from its date

---

<sup>362</sup> Botero, Giovanni, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificencie and Greatness of Cities*, (trans. R. Pearson, 1606) Ch. X, p.63. Quoted in Fisher, F.J., *London and the English Economy, 1500-1700*, (London: 1990), p.108.

<sup>363</sup> Fisher, F.J., *London and the English Economy, 1500-1700*, (London: 1990), p.112-3.

<sup>364</sup> ‘Hapertas’ may have been a coarse cloth used beneath armour, and Prevett suggests that an original dealing in under-cloth might have extended to other items of apparel and small articles of personal wear. Prevett. H., *The Worshipful Company of Haberdashers*, (London: 1971).

and sense, be a back formation from Haberdasher, and hapertas may be only a bad AF spelling of it.’

The OED definition of Haberdasher confirms that even twentieth-century use of the term ‘haberdashery’ is based on a similar understanding that the word itself is defined by its salesmen:

1. The goods and wares sold by a haberdasher; 2. The shop or establishment of a haberdasher; 3. attrib. and Comb., as haberdashery-ware, etc.

The haberdasher himself is identified as:

Formerly, a dealer in a variety of articles now dealt with by other trades, including caps, and probably hats.

In the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the trade seems to have been split into two, those of: a] A dealer in, or maker of, hats and caps, a hatter –1711;

b] A dealer in small articles appertaining to dress, as thread, tape, ribbons, and the like 1611.

c] Figurative use as dealer, retailer, vendor.<sup>365</sup>

Haberdashers Guild history shows, and inventory evidence confirms, not that the trade split into two branches in the sixteenth century, but rather that after amalgamation with other guilds had taken place some traders, or their appraisers, qualified the trade term and added a few words to indicate the type of haberdasher. Evidently it was considered by some that qualification was necessary to indicate both the guild affiliation and the specialised area of interest, and/or that there were implications of status. The separate titles occasionally appear on probate inventories at least as late as 1691 with John Fisher, haberdasher of hats, Northampton, and in 1702, John Halls, haberdasher of smallwares, Holborne, but the two definitions were not so commonly used as traditional belief would have it. The simple title ‘haberdasher’ was used for the majority of haberdashers’ inventories; in my sample of 312 trade inventories 39 are titled ‘haberdasher’ but only two have an additional suffix, one each of hats and smallwares. This tends to support the notion, which will be discussed later, that the perception of what was sold by a particular trader was a

---

<sup>365</sup> *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, third edition, (Oxford: 1980).

more important factor than the title under which he traded.

While strictly speaking this study is not concerned with the early history of haberdashery or the Haberdashers' Company, which is thoroughly investigated by Ian Archer in his publication *The History of the Haberdashers' Company*,<sup>366</sup> in the light of such conclusions as those drawn by the OED (above) it is necessary to examine briefly the pattern of development of haberdashers and their wares. It is, incidentally, worth noting that – like the lack of attention to the wares themselves – until Archer's publication, the Haberdasher's Company has received surprisingly scant attention from historians.

Although in broad terms, from the time of its development out of the retail of mercery in the early fourteenth century – the first mention being in 1311, Liber Memorandum 53 in Liber Albus (Rolls) III - 'haberdashery' was always associated with small wares, the question of what comprised haberdashery through the period of this study, is complicated by the interaction between smallwares and/or hatting. First incorporated in 1371, the haberdashers seem to have concentrated primarily on retail trading, and there is little evidence of early involvement in the wholesale import of goods. There seems, however, to have always been competition and dispute between the older manufacturing crafts of the hatters and the hurers, *alias* cappers, and the retailing guilds of the mercers and their offshoot the haberdashers, both of which, as early inventory evidence shows, sold hats and caps among their other goods.<sup>367</sup>

For example, although the English manufacturing crafts had a vested interest in keeping domestically produced wares to the fore, the haberdashers were less concerned about the origins of their stock. For example, as early as 1318 the Cappers had obtained an ordinance with Parliamentary sanction that all caps should be made from pure wool as opposed to wool with flocks, or flock alone, which gave an inferior – and much cheaper – article. They claimed that the foreign wares were made of these poor materials, and on one occasion destroyed the imported stocks belonging to

---

<sup>366</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of the Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991).

<sup>367</sup> Archer, Ian W., *op cit*, pp.1-2. The inventory of Thomas Trewe, a London haberdasher appraised in 1378, shows a number of hats, caps and hures of different colours and prices. John Bussheye, a mercer, had beaver hats among his stock in 1394.

‘divers haberdashers and cappers.’ In this instance the importers – German merchants and London mercers - successfully defended the quality of the wares and the foreign caps were found to be ‘good and sufficient.’<sup>368</sup>

There was further tension over the matter of caps fulled by feet instead of being hand-beaten with clubs, or – even more threatening from the cappers point of view – those employing the labour- saving invention of the fulling mill. Again the cappers claimed that a poor quality article was produced, and thereafter sold by the haberdashers, and initially in 1376 gained ordinances against the use of mills.<sup>369</sup> Archer comments that the repetition of the ordinance in 1404 suggests that the measure was ineffective, although one could argue that obstructing the use of an innovation for some 28 years, even if only partially, was actually quite a successful protectionist delay. However, in 1417 the Hatters and the Haberdashers challenged the seizure by the Cappers of some caps that were on sale at a haberdasher’s shop. The Cappers claimed the goods to have been fulled by human feet. The Haberdashers did not deny it, and furthermore stated that ‘caps, hures and hats, both in England and also abroad, were fulled both by mills and by foot at less cost, and equally as well as those fulled by hand.’ They also pointed out that the search for defective goods should have been exercised by all three of the guilds concerned. On this occasion the Haberdashers won their case; the ordinance was annulled and it was ordered that searches should be conducted jointly.<sup>370</sup>

Undoubtedly some haberdashers made the articles that they sold. Archer notes an instance when an apprentice complained that he ‘had not been taught properly by his master because the only thing he had learned was the art of making points.’<sup>371</sup> Points were attachments made of linen or silk thread, or of leather, for tying parts of clothing

---

<sup>368</sup> Noted in Archer, Ian W., *op cit*, p.8, citing *Calendar of Letter Books Preserved Among the Archives of the City of London, 1275-1498*, R. R. Sharpe (ed.) (11 vols, 1899-1912) and *Placita de Quo Warranto Temporibus Edw. I, II, and III* (1818).

<sup>369</sup> *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved Among the Archives of the City of London*, Thomas, A.H., (ed., vols I-IV), and Jones, P.E., (ed., vols V-VI) (6 vols, 1926-61), pp.230, 233.

<sup>370</sup> Lyell, L., and F.D. Watney, (eds.), *Acts of Court of the Mercers’ Company, 1453-1527*, (Cambridge: 1936), quoted by Archer, Ian W., *The History of the Haberdashers’ Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p.9.

<sup>371</sup> Archer, Ian W., *op cit*, p.8.

together, used in large quantities in the fourteenth century and sold by haberdashers and mercers.<sup>372</sup> The apprentice's complaint is evidence firstly that these items were made *in situ* and not purchased wholesale by the haberdasher concerned, and secondly that the anticipated practice, and therefore the more usual one, evidently included instruction for apprentices in a wider range of skills involved in production as well as marketing.

The Haberdashers' Guild grew from comparative obscurity in the early 1400s to become one of the more influential in the City during the late fifteenth century. Empowered by Henry VI's grant of a charter in 1448, they were allowed to hold property, to regulate the trade, and to act as a corporate body. The charter provided that no one should keep a haberdasher's shop unless free of the City, and that admission to the freedom was dependent upon being presented to the Mayor by the Wardens or by 'four good men of the mystery.' It also granted powers of search over all goods relating to haberdashery, and in particular over goods imported by aliens and sold by them within a three-mile radius of the City.<sup>373</sup> The Guild was granted arms, acquired a site and, in 1461, completed the building of its first hall, on the corner of Staining Lane and Maiden Lane – developments which all reflected and enhanced the growing power and prestige of the membership.

In 1475 it was decreed that the body to elect the City's Mayors, Sheriffs, and other officers should be comprised of Liverymen of the companies; and thus it was that the Guild was elevated into a position of political power. In 1483, the first haberdasher to be elected to the Court of Aldermen was called to serve as Mayor; indeed the Company provided no less than nine Lord Mayors of London during the sixteenth century.<sup>374</sup> The rising status of the haberdashers led to the growth of their suitability as the trustees for property, as the overseers of charitable bequests and religious observances. The buoyancy of the early years of the sixteenth century encouraged the Haberdashers' Company to embark on wholesale buying and selling and, through its increasing wealth and influence within the City Corporation, into wider scale investments in property and foreign trade. Despite the reluctant relinquishing (at the

---

<sup>372</sup> See Chapter 2., Points and laces, p.71.

<sup>373</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of the Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p.12.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid*, p.16.

insistence of the Court of Aldermen) of the dignity of 'Merchant' from their name - with its implications of prestigious participation in overseas trade - under a new charter granted by Henry VIII in 1510 the Guild of Haberdashers continued to sustain the growth and prosperity which established it as a powerful force in the City<sup>375</sup>.

In 1502 the guild amalgamated with the Guild of Hatters and Hurers, *alias* Cappers, first mentioned in the *Liber Albus* of 1311, which had themselves merged in 1501.<sup>376</sup> Doubtless the two smaller artisan guilds looked for benefits both in terms of support for their trades which were suffering as a result of foreign imports and alien hatmakers, and as a way of avoiding the continuing clashes with the powerful Haberdashers' Company over matters where there were overlapping interests. Unwin suggests that amalgamation with the Haberdashers guild, with its primary concern for trading, was less than helpful to the manufacturing interest and led to the exploitation of the artisan membership.<sup>377</sup> Archer notes that, on the contrary, since the artisans could 'exploit the rhetoric of brotherhood which membership of a common organisation created, their position was actually improved.'<sup>378</sup>

The artisan trades had, of course, a vested interest in promoting domestically produced goods, but mercers and haberdashers continued to import foreign products. Foreign imports, allegedly being made of inferior materials, such as wool adulterated with flocks, or flock alone as mentioned above, were cheaper and therefore popular. The Haberdashers' charter allowed the Master and Wardens to enter houses and shops 'of all persons exercising the trade' within the City and a radius of three miles to assess the quality of merchandise and to arrest or imprison offenders whose goods were not 'sufficiently made or wrought.'<sup>379</sup> Problems were exacerbated by the fact that the feltmaking trade, an integral part of hatting production, had never been properly regulated, so that the new feltmaking skills were not restricted to Haberdashers' Company members but could be found within the Mercers', Merchant Tailors', Curriers', and Clothworkers' Companies. This led to friction between the

---

<sup>375</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of the Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p.18.

<sup>376</sup> Unwin, G., *The Guilds and Companies of London*, (London: 1908), p.166.

<sup>377</sup> *Ibid*, pp.166-8.

<sup>378</sup> Archer, Ian W., *op cit*, p.17.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid*, p.8.

several different associations as the Haberdashers tried to regulate trade on behalf of the feltmakers in their own company. During lengthy conflicts concerning the maintenance of standards and the rights of search, the regulation of labour and apprenticeship, the admission of aliens and English non-free 'foreigners', the Assistants of the guild, somewhat grudgingly, supported the feltmakers within the company.

Despite the 1566 Act of Elizabeth '...For the better and truer making of Cappes and Hattes within this Realme',<sup>380</sup> conflict of interest between the wholesalers and the feltmakers in the Haberdashers' Company may have given rise to some unsound trading practices, such as that which resulted in a petition presented by the workmen of the Company to the Assistants in the later 1570s. The feltmakers demanded that a grant be issued by the Crown for the supervision of the washing and sorting of imported Spanish wool because, they claimed, the wholesalers – of whom the greater proportion were haberdashers – were mixing good and bad wools. Again in 1585, the feltmakers claimed that company members were selling large quantities of unfinished hats to chapmen for distribution to the provinces, to the detriment of the London workforce.<sup>381</sup>

Many feltmakers must have come to feel, in Ian Archer's phrase, 'that a brighter future could be secured outside the framework of the Haberdashers' Company', and the eventual granting of a charter by James I incorporated the Feltmakers as a separate Company in 1604. After further opposition from the Haberdashers', the Feltmakers' Company, which by then included most of the hatters of the City, was eventually admitted to the freedom of the City in 1650. Indeed the changing trading conditions of the seventeenth century resulted in the Haberdashers' Company having less and less contact with the growing number of shopkeepers actually dealing with haberdashery wares.<sup>382</sup> There was instead a huge expansion in the scope of its

---

<sup>380</sup> 8 Eliz. I c.11 §3.

<sup>381</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of The Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p.65.

<sup>382</sup> On its website, [www.haberdashers.co.uk](http://www.haberdashers.co.uk), the present day Company ascribes the changing role thus: 'By 1650 the population of London had grown to such an extent that it was no longer possible to control the haberdashery trade. This resulted in a change of direction, over a long period, to the Company as it is now with its emphasis on education and charitable giving.'

charitable activities, as leading members entrusted it with the management of endowments for purposes as varied as the provision of school and university scholarships, the relief of the poor, the support of parish Lecturers, and financial assistance of the parish clergy.

The OED definition of the occupational titles of ‘haberdashers of hats’ and ‘haberdashers of smallwares’ in the sixteenth century, together with the foregoing Guild history, may give the impression that the two branches of the trade were much more clearly differentiated than inventory evidence indicates. Many haberdashers sold hats and caps alongside smallwares both before and after the sixteenth century, while conversely a number of traders referred to only as haberdashers, without the hatting suffix, can quite clearly be seen to be dealing solely in headwear. For example, in his inventory William Stanley (1624)<sup>383</sup> of Alton, Hampshire, was called a haberdasher, not a haberdasher of hats, but his wares were entirely concerned with headgear - hats, and hatbands. When Archer discusses his observation that the large-scale import of haberdashery was a development of the fifteenth century, he notes that the most comprehensive inventory from the later fifteenth century is that of a Leatherseller dealing in haberdashery in 1486. He concludes by saying that ‘although he sold hatbands, there were no hats or caps in Skyrwyth’s shop, a sign of the developing specialisation between the haberdashers of small wares and the haberdashers of hats.’<sup>384</sup> This seems a strange point to make since the deceased trader was not a haberdasher by guild affiliation and haberdashery only formed part of his stock, the remainder being mercery and animal hides. Not only that, but the ‘developing specialisation’ to which Archer alludes, by his own evidence was rather a merging of already existing specialisations, a development which did not occur until 1502 - sixteen years after the inventory in question.

By the early seventeenth century, the number of haberdashers and their apprentices in the city of London was considerable. Archer notes that ‘with an average of no less than 311 apprentice bindings each year between 1605 and 1614 there were probably between 1,500 and 1,750 young men apprenticed to the freemen of the Haberdashers’

---

<sup>383</sup> HRO 1604 AD 53/1-2

<sup>384</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of The Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p. 25



Company in the capital in 1615. Apprentices probably nearly equalled and possibly exceeded the number of freemen in the Company.<sup>385</sup> Company records show that only about 40 per cent of apprentices completed their seven years or more, and took up the freedom, but even so, with allowance being made for illegal traders and foreigners, a considerable number of people evidently made a living trading in 'inconsidered trifles.'<sup>386</sup> Furthermore, the custom of London whereby a freeman could follow any trade once his apprenticeship was complete, not just that craft in which he had been trained, means that there were even more haberdashers whose presence does not appear on the Haberdashers' Company rolls; traders such as Dawes, 1672, Fishmonger (LO160035), or indeed Skyrwyth the leatherseller mentioned above.<sup>387</sup>

The trade, however, is strangely dichotomised. It is difficult to reconcile the fact that at the same time as Cotgreave was describing someone as 'a Pedlar, a paltrie Haberdasher,' and Massinger scoffed 'A great Lady dote upon a haberdasher of smallwares!'<sup>388</sup> there were many very wealthy and highly respected haberdashers. Haberdasher Nicholas Woodrofe was Lord Mayor of London in 1580, Sir Thomas Lowe, Mayor in 1604, and Sir Francis Jones, who was elected in 1620 and whose Lord Mayor's pageant cost £750.8s.6d.<sup>389</sup> In fact the company provided no less than 12 Mayors in the seventeenth century. 153 of the 1,669 men listed as being active in civic government over the Elizabethan period, that is over nine percent, were freemen of the Haberdashers' Company.<sup>390</sup> So on the one hand the title 'Haberdasher' was associated with a better quality of retailing and a powerful, prosperous trade organisation, yet on the other hand the term was used to indicate the sale of petty merchandise.

---

<sup>385</sup> Archer, Ian W., *The History of The Haberdashers' Company*, (Chichester: 1991), p.123.

<sup>386</sup> See Appendix 9, p.346, for the Table of Apprentice Bindings, *Register of Bindings, 1708-1755*, Guildhall Library, M 15,850 8.

<sup>387</sup> Inventory of John Skyrwyth, valued on May 18<sup>th</sup> 1486, PRO, PROB2/15.

<sup>388</sup> Massinger, Philip, *The Renegado*, (1630).

<sup>389</sup> Guildhall Library, MS 15869.

<sup>390</sup> Archer, Ian W., *op cit*, p.141, quotes figures from Benbow, R.M., *Index of London Citizens involved in City Government, 1558-1603*. (Typescript on deposit at Centre for Metropolitan History, London.)

In addition, the word was being adapted from its description of selling particular types of small wares, and was passing into the language in a figurative sense, for the general vending of insignificant items, such as ‘this Haberdasher of lyes’ in 1597 *Return from Parnass*.<sup>391</sup> Samuel Butler, introduced a character in *Houdibras* thus:

To match this Saint, there was another,  
As busie and perverse a Brother,  
An Haberdasher of Small wares  
In Politicks and State-Affairs;<sup>392</sup>

At the end of the seventeenth century a cant term for a schoolmaster was a ‘Haberdasher of nouns and pronouns,’<sup>393</sup> while as late as 1755 Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* defined the haberdasher in pejorative tones as: ‘One who sells small wares; a pedlar’.

It would appear that some factor or quality of the haberdasher, different from other vendors, made an association between the retailer of small wares and the distributor of small words, lies, and jokes. These figurative uses were, after all, not applied to mercers, who retailed many of the same items, or to grocers - even though they also sold a wide assortment of small objects. When the word ‘pedlar’ is used figuratively, the assumptions are cheaper and somehow more basic, while the term ‘haberdasher of small projects’<sup>394</sup> implies, with a nudge and a wink, an altogether more enterprising, though not necessarily more worthy, individual. Perhaps there was a quality inherent in the term, obvious to the early modern users of the terminology but lost to us, which implied both respect and distaste for a group of traders who made their money by the clever retailing of inexpensive goods.

This duality may well be a reflection of opinion in the early sixteenth century. Several commentators, among them Clement Armstrong, an adviser to Thomas Cromwell, mentioned unfavourably the rising wealth of the haberdashers in relation to their increasing participation in the import of foreign wares, to the detriment of

---

<sup>391</sup> Nashe, Part 1, *Return from Parnass*, IV, I, 1235, (1597).

<sup>392</sup> Butler, Samuel, *Houdibras*, III, ii, (1678).

<sup>393</sup> Partridge, Eric, (ed.), *Penguin Dictionary of Historical Slang*, (London: 1972).

<sup>394</sup> Wilson, J., *Projects*, iv, 264, (1664).

English producers. He also noted that the goods were imported by alien merchants resulting in entirely foreign-based profit and control. The items themselves were frivolous and unnecessary and thus to be condemned all round, and despite the rising prosperity and the growing popularity of haberdashery wares, contemporary economists viewed them with considerable disapprobation. Writing in the early 1530s Armstrong commented on their increasing presence:

a thirty yere agoo a sorte beganne to occupie to bye and selle alle soche handycraft wares, called haburdashers, otherwise called hardware men, that a fourty yere agoo was not four or five shopes in London, wher now every streete is full of theym.<sup>395</sup>

While in 1549, in his *Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realm of this England* Sir Thomas Smith also bitterly complained of the presence of haberdashers and their goods. His final conclusions on the trade:

As for haberdashers...I cannot se what they doe in a town, but finde a livinge to v or vj houwsholds, and in steade thereof impoverishethe twice as manie.

Smith's Discourses indicate the items he considered it perfectly proper that England should import, goods not obtainable at home or not in sufficient quantity – such as iron, steel, oil, and flax. Other wares, like wines, spices, silk, and exotic fruits were desirable, if not strictly necessary, but it was still acceptable that such things should be imported. His list of items which could be done without ('clean spared') read like a haberdasher's inventory and among other things included pins, needles, knives, daggers, pouches, hats, caps, brooches, aglets, silk and silver buttons, laces, points, and perfumed gloves. As noted in my *Introduction* Joan Thirsk identifies the 'intense prejudice' against such things as being caused by the attitude of the time that saw the value of an item only in terms of the costs of its raw materials. Smith soundly condemned wares that cost little but labour to produce, but which were being imported in quantity to the benefit of the 'strangers' abroad and the haberdashers at home.<sup>396</sup> Bearing that attitude in mind it is perhaps not so difficult after all to see

---

<sup>395</sup> Quoted in Elton, G.R., *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558*, (London: 1977), pp.158-9, 164-5.

<sup>396</sup> Smith claimed that his *Discourses* expressed 'the ideas not of one eccentric man, but of many intelligent and influential thinkers, preachers, and politicians who called themselves Commonwealthmen' and the result over the next fifty years was the gradual development of

how the shopkeeper, selling dozens of cheap imported small wares, could be dismissed as a 'paltrie haberdasher,' yet at the same time the wealthy and charitable merchant haberdasher, holding the most senior offices in city and guild, could be admired and respected.

To some extent, following the 1502 amalgamation, the separate titles Haberdasher of Hats, and Haberdasher of Smallwares, may be explained by a perceived need to continue to differentiate. It may be that traders who sold items which would come under the heading of haberdashery smallwares, those items more closely linked to mercery - the fine ribbons and laces, threads and buttons - did not wish to be allied to the more artisan Feltmakers and Hatters. Having previously been associated with a powerful retailing guild dealing mainly with finished goods, it possible that some haberdashers saw it as a retrograde step to be connected with the basic manufacture. Again, since the term itself was often the choice of the appraiser, it is possible that he may have used it to clarify both the status and occupation of the deceased. It is necessary to bear in mind the comment by Lindert regarding occupation labels that 'The crucial points to understand about labels are that they were apparently used just to identify persons more clearly, and that whether or not they were used was largely determined by the whim of the individual recorder.'<sup>397</sup> He points out that, with two or three exceptions, few sets of documents with socio-occupational labels seem to have had any fiscal motive but that they were recorded primarily to ensure that each person was efficiently distinguished from any other person having the same name. It should be remembered, therefore, that Thomas Hill, Haberdasher of Hats<sup>398</sup> may only have been used to differentiate him from Thomas Hill Haberdasher, and that John Halls Haberdasher of Smallwares<sup>399</sup> might indicate no more than that there was also a John Halls better known for his hats – and that in no case should anything other than identity be read into the nomenclature.

---

sundry 'Projects' aimed at encouraging the growth of the manufacture in this country of the previously imported items. Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978), p.16.

<sup>397</sup> Lindert, P. 'English Occupations, 1670-1811', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol.40, (1980), pp. 685-712.

<sup>398</sup> Hill, Thomas, of Southampton, Hampshire, HRO 1680 A 55/2.

<sup>399</sup> Halls, John, of Holborn, haberdasher of smallwares.1702. PRO, PROB5 2332.

The comparison of wares in relation to traders' titles indicates that such titles were indeed flexible, possibly changing through time and circumstance, and even co-existing. There are examples of men who evidently did not consider that being self-defined as a mercer when making a will excluded them from being haberdashers when trading. These may well be examples of opportunistic practice - being affiliated to the Haberdashers when borrowing money perhaps, could have been a sound move, which would not conflict with the overall perception of being a mercer.

John Paice of Winchester,<sup>400</sup> for example, described himself as a haberdasher in his will, dated May 6<sup>th</sup> 1603. The inventory of his goods, appraised two weeks later and not given a trade title, does indeed include wares to be expected in a haberdasher's shop: 'coloured Enkell, Statute lace, braid threed, hooks and eyes, glasse buttons, papers of pines, galeune lace, black spanish Ribeninge and brode silke'. However, additionally it includes many other items which are to be found in the inventories of tradesmen entitled 'mercers': glasses 'venice, small, bottell, pottell, square; 'Rivet nailes, lathe nailes, tenne penny nailes'; spices 'Cloues, mace, nutmegs, termericke, Callyander seed'. He also had a tallow house with a hundredweight of tallow and a second shop or warehouse. His wares totalled a little over £43. As a rough guide to proportion, there were 219 entries in his inventory but less than thirteen percent could be termed 'haberdashery', yet Paice used the title of himself.

Conversely, James Smallpiece of Guildford, Surrey,<sup>401</sup> also referred to himself as a Haberdasher in his will, yet he was described as a Gentleman in his inventory in July 1625, in which there were no wares recorded, just the domestic total of £113.16s.6d. It is interesting to note here that another Nicholas Smallpiece, also of Guildford in Surrey,<sup>402</sup> died in 1601 and was described as a haberdasher in his inventory, with a quantity of hatting goods in a shop totalling £52.16s.6d. out of a inventory total of £521. Did the son move up the social ladder, leaving his trade – and the money – behind him?

---

<sup>400</sup> HRO 1603 A 40/1-2.

<sup>401</sup> HRO/1625 B63/2.

<sup>402</sup> HRO/1601 B 51/3.

In another combination of wares and title, in 1583 John Twice, of Winchester<sup>403</sup>, had grocery wares in his shop valued at £48.16s.2d. under eight headings, including spices, sugar wares, dried fruits, oils, dairy produce. Although his ‘Habberdashe wares of silk’ and ‘habberdashe wares of all sortes’ only totalled £30.1s.10d., they appear to represent a large stock of less expensive items. Despite this, Twice was described in his inventory as a grocer, and it is interesting to note that one of his appraisers, ‘Heughe Denbye’ was undoubtedly the same Hugh Denby of Winchester<sup>404</sup> whose inventory of 1587 records his own trade as a haberdasher, and who therefore would be familiar with what goods would comprise the stock of a haberdasher.

With reference to inferences drawn from the contents of John Twice’s shop, it must always be borne in mind that one of the weaknesses in the use of post-mortem inventories is, as mentioned above, that of not knowing at what point in the trader’s year the appraisal was being carried out. The period immediately before, or immediately after the arrival of stock could considerably distort the value and the bias of shop wares, to the extent that within too rigid a sample frame more than one inappropriate trader might be included or excluded.

Bearing in mind this variety of use of titles, drawbacks can be seen in a methodology that might seek to establish the early modern availability of haberdashery solely through examination of the goods of traders identified as haberdashers in post-mortem inventories. It should be noted that the appellation ‘haberdasher’ may or may not have been how a particular retailer saw himself at the time of his death. It might have been a title to which the deceased had aspired or the craft to which he had originally been apprenticed or a title imposed through the appraisers’ perception of his goods. The appraisers of William Barrodel<sup>405</sup> of Belton in Leicestershire, first titled him a Mercer in his 1680 inventory, then deleted that and substituted Chandler. Since his wares fell at least as neatly into the category of mercery than chandlery, some other factor determined that change of mind and demonstrates the mutability of such titles.

---

<sup>403</sup> HRO 1583 AD 71.

<sup>404</sup> HRO 1587 B27/1-2.

<sup>405</sup> Barrodel, William, of Belton, Leicestershire, Chandler, 01/1680 LRO Leics. PR/I/82/224.

It is also worth commenting on the fact that the phrase ‘haberdasher of smallwares’ occurs far more frequently in contemporary literary reference than it does in inventories or advertising. This would seem to reinforce conclusions that the term had connotations, perhaps of status, perhaps of contemporary stereotyping, which were unnecessary or inappropriate for an official document.

John Clavell, (1601-1643) made fun of the character of a haberdasher in *The So[l]ddered Citizen* (1636):

I was a Haberdasher of small ware, of very small sufficiency  
in the best of my doings, and my wife not satisfied with  
what god sent, tooke lewde Courses,

Thomas Baker, writing between 1700 and 1709 included references to a haberdasher of smallwares in at least two plays. In his comedy *An Act At Oxford* (1704) the wife treats her husband and his trade with derision:

[ACT IV. SCENE II.]

-Are you not / asham'd, Wife, to use me thus? I, that took you from keeping / a  
Semptresses Shop, fetch'd your blew Silk Stockins / out o'pawne; from a dirty  
Callico-Gown, new rig'd you / like a Countess, and prefer'd you to my Nuptial Bed.  
[Wife]. Prefer'd me!---Ay,---Let any one Judge how / I am preferr'd, I have marry'd  
a Haberdasher o'small Ware, / ---to sit mop'd all day in a Shop at the *Grasshopper* in  
/ *Blowbladder Street*, and sell an Ounce O'Groat Thread, a / pen'worth o'Gum-  
taffety, and a hap'worth o'Corkin Pins, / must suit extremely well with my Genius. /

*The Fine Lady's Airs* – as acted at the theatre Royal in Drury Lane, 1708 - indicates in that a haberdasher of smallwares is held in very low esteem:

[ACT III. SCENE I.]

Mrs. *Lov*. Here do I follow and caress my Lady, in hopes / to steal a Spark 'mongst  
her Admirers; I have / five hundred Pounds in the fourteen *per Cent*, a  
Gentlewoman's / Fortune in past Ages, but now 'twon't buy a Haberdasher of / small  
Ware.

Christopher Bullock (1690?-1724) used the trade in his farce *The Adventures of Half an Hour*, performed in 1716:

*Tag*. ...and now / Mrs. *Tag*, my pretty Wife, if I do find thee to be / what I greatly  
suspect thou art, thou shalt dearly / rue the making a Cuckold of a Haberdasher of /  
Small Ware. /

It is noticeable too that the self applied term Haberdasher of Smallwares occurs infrequently in trade cards. In my sample of trade cards from the Banks and Heals Collections at the British Museum, from the collection at Birmingham Central Reference Library, Local Studies and History Department, and from the Attingham Papers in Shropshire Records and Research, while there are ten title-less traders who listed haberdashery among their wares, and 16 who combined haberdashery with other branches of the same supply sector – gloves, hosiery, millinery *etcetera* – two were simply Haberdashers and only one called himself a Haberdasher of Smallwares. William Roberts<sup>406</sup> of London in 1775, covering all possibilities, styles himself Hosier, Hatter & Haberdasher on his trade card, and sold hats, smallwares, hose, and pieces for waistcoats and breeches.

The twentieth/twenty-first century fascination with categorisation may mislead us into treating the whole subject of titles in a much more definitive way than did the traders in question. It can be seen in many inventories that, although the contents of a shop identify the deceased as carrying on a particular type of trade, the assessors have added no trade title. It might be a matter of local or county tradition, or that the trader had no guild attachments, but it could be because that retailer had no need to be labelled; he stocked wares his customers needed, and the customers knew where their wants would be supplied. Making the assumption that the untitled retailers had no pressing need to identify, or dignify, themselves with a title or job description during their working lifetime, one could wonder if there might be something additionally revealed by those that *were* so titled, seen perhaps in the context of their locality. Such an examination seems to lead away from the belief that trade and status were mutually supportive or exclusive, and opens the question of how and why an individual's perception of his trade was formed. Practitioners of the same trade often operated in the same part of town, thus inexperienced traders would develop an understanding through apprenticeship, ownership and observation. They would learn what goods guild or local regulations would permit them to sell, what wares they could obtain from suppliers, the items that potential customers would expect them to stock, and in which direction the market could be increased.

---

<sup>406</sup> BM, Heal Collection.



Small communities also had apprenticeship systems such as that experienced by Roger Lowe, apprentice to a mercer and smallwares dealer in Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>407</sup> No doubt apprenticeship or family business would, like the town dwellers, give them a basic understanding of their trade and possibly a title, but small communities may not have been able to support two traders of smallwares so, when setting up a new venture elsewhere, what decided the young shopkeeper on his trade title? Did the country chapman, whose wares were very similar to the haberdasher, benefit by changing his title?

Haberdashery formed a considerable element of the trade of petty chapmen and peddlers, at markets and fairs and on the doorstep. Margaret Spufford's estimation of about two and a half thousand chapmen dealing with over a million yards of cloth, means, roughly speaking, 400 yards per trader.<sup>408</sup> Particularly significant is the quantity, and variety of the haberdashery smallwares carried by chapmen necessary to convert that cloth mostly into articles of clothing. Chapmen, whose goods included not just essentials but also many non-essential decorative wares and small ready-made items, would not have expended financial outlay, energy and space, without an expectation of reasonable returns. Thomas Walkden<sup>409</sup>, for example, a chapman from Blackburn who died in 1662 had goods totalling £15.8s.2d. His smallwares were worth £7.16s.0d. - that is just over 50% of the value of his stock - and included: points and laces, inkles, ribbons, tapes, bonelace, pins, handkerchief buttons and gloves. The range of goods available indicates the viability of his trade, even in rural areas at a distance from centres of fashion. From 1697 all those who sold goods by retail were required by law to hold a licence. The number of country shopkeepers increased during the century and by the 1780s there was opposition to the hawkers from this source. An attempt was made to repeal the Act licensing hawkers and to make hawking illegal, however, several Travelling Scotchmen Societies petitioned against the bill. Significantly, they were supported by manufacturers, and the bill was not enacted.<sup>410</sup>

---

<sup>407</sup> Sachse, William L. (ed.), *The Diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire 1663-74*, (London: 1938).

<sup>408</sup> Spufford, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, (London: 1984), p.145.

<sup>409</sup> LRO WCW 1662, Thomas Walkden.

<sup>410</sup> Journals of the House of Commons XL, p.1018 quoted in Buck, A., *Dress In Eighteenth Century England*, (London: 1979), p.179.

How Pedlars Stalls with Glittering Toys are laid  
The various Fairings of the Country Maid  
Long silken Laces hang upon the Twine  
And rows of Pins and amber Bracelets shine;  
How the tight Lass, Knives, Combs, Scissars spys  
And looks on Thimbles with desiring Eyes'

J.Gay 'The Shepherd's Week' 1714. II. 73-8

## Haberdashery Traders through their Inventories

Naturally, as discussed elsewhere, although the collection and transcription of inventories in my sample has been as thorough and as rigorous as possible, the very nature of the random survival of documents means that conclusions drawn from this data can only ever be tentative. Even so, trends that emerge can be seen as indicative of the overall picture. The sample of traders stands at 312, and of these 39 are titled haberdasher, one calls himself 'haberdasher of hats' in his will, and only one is 'haberdasher of hats' in his inventory. Others in the sample would qualify through their wares as haberdashers rather than mercers or general shopkeepers; they are entered as having 'haberdashery'. Seven of the sample refer to themselves as haberdashers in their wills, three of whom are not trade titled in their inventories, whilst one appears as 'gent'. It must be stressed, however, that I looked at very few wills in the sample - since initially I was examining only the wares, and regarded the personal details as not sufficiently useful to spend time on - something I now regret.

In order to assess the availability of haberdashery wares, other retailers should be investigated as well as the obvious traders, the haberdashers. By using probate inventories, it can be seen that haberdashers shared the market in smallwares with a variety of other traders, reflecting the necessity of haberdashery in everyday life. Of these traders the most notable were of course the mercers who appear originally to have stocked the smallwares for which 'haberdashery' later became the generic term. But there were also fixed-shop and petty-chapmen, drapers, chandlers, milliners,

merchant tailors, stocking sellers, lace men, and grocers. This is in addition to those people who were untitled, or defined as shopkeepers, or else belonged to the large group only documented by their social status as widow, yeoman, or gent., yet whose inventory contents identify them as general retailers. Although my sample of 312 inventories of traders with listed haberdashery wares [see table] can at best only be indicative rather than comprehensive (see Methodology), it is significant that only 39 are identified as haberdashers, while there are 64 mercers and 81 remain untitled.

Starting with the London sample of sixty-two inventories it is not surprising that twenty-four haberdashers are found. There are five drapers, four mercers and three each of the goldsmiths, grocers, merchant tailors and pewterers trades. There are two cutlers and two girdlers represented, together with a barber surgeon and a blacksmith, a clothworker and a dyer, a fishmonger, an ironmonger and a leather seller, plus a skinner and a vintner. This list in particular draws attention to the fact that some traders did not follow their guild affiliation yet the title was retained. For example, among his haberdashery type of wares the skinner, Hudson<sup>411</sup> in 1672 had bonelace, points and bandstrings, and the sort of clothing often sold by haberdashers; scarves, cuffs, aprons, hoods cravats and drawers, childbed suits and children's clothes. He also stocked fabrics – lutestring, alamode and sarcenet, together with several different linens, holland and cambric. The total of these goods, at his shop in the Exchange, was £177.12s.6d.

The Hampshire sample of 64 traders selling haberdashery wares includes only nine with the title of haberdasher and one haberdasher of hats. The inventory of the latter, Hill<sup>412</sup> of Southampton in 1680, lists 4 types of hat; castors, felts, caps and straws, in sizes to fit men, women and boys. He has no other wares but brushes and feathers – probably working items and not for separate sale – and the total goods and shop fittings only add up to £34.17s. This contrasts sharply with the goods of another Southampton trader of 75 years earlier, Edward Martyn,<sup>413</sup> of Southampton, 1605, titled only haberdasher but stocking a large quantity of hats. His appraisers initially itemised 111 hats with different facings and linings in velvet and taffeta for men,

---

<sup>411</sup> HUDSON William, of London. Skinner. 1672 CLRO: Roll 759.

<sup>412</sup> HILL Thomas, of Southampton, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1680 A 55/2.

<sup>413</sup> MARTYN Edward, of Southampton, Hampshire, HRO 1605 A55/1-2.

women and boys which totalled £17.18s.8d, and then listed a further hundred or more hats and caps of coarse and coloured types, a large number of these being for children. He also had in his stock velvet, five types of taffeta, and three sorts of silk, which again may well have been his working goods, together with a large quantity of different sorts of hat band: silk, feather, plaited, cruel, and embroidered.

In fact in Hampshire, apart from the twenty-one untitled inventories containing haberdashery-wares, the largest category of sellers with named occupation were the mercers with twelve entries. Three grocers and three woollen drapers had smallwares, as did two drapers and a linen draper, sundry individual gents and widows, a merchant, a merchant tailor, a lace maker, stocking seller, and the owner of a 'ware shop'. Only one chapman's inventory appears in the sample, an interesting point to remember when comparing numbers with those of Lancashire.

The sample of thirty-two from Sussex also has only one chapman, together with a bodice maker, a feltmonger, a glover – who stocked only grocery, an ironmonger, a narrow weaver, a shoe maker and a tailor. There are two widows, two tallow chandlers, two shopkeepers and two grocers. The largest group is that of the mercers, of which there are eleven, and there are six untitled. Very surprisingly there are no haberdashers.

Moving further north to the Midlands and amalgamating the sample from Warwickshire, and Leicester – a total of 83 traders – there are a good number of mercers, 26, but only 2 haberdashers. There are four chapmen, four widows, four silkweavers, three chandlers, and two tailors, together with single representatives of the bodice and button makers trade, an ironmonger, a linen draper and a narrow weaver. There is just one petty chapman and twenty-seven untitled traders with haberdashery goods in their inventories.

Taking the most northerly samples together, from Lancashire, Cumbria and Westmorland, a total of 72 inventories include 25 untitled examples. Here again the largest group is that of the mercers, with ten, but this time they are closely followed by the chapmen with nine representatives, plus two petty chapmen. There are five 'gents', and five merchants, three grocers and just three haberdashers. In addition

there are single representatives of the drapers, hosiers, linen drapers, pointmakers, silk men, silk weavers, and weavers trades, plus two yeomen and one widow.

Apart from availability of haberdashery, there are other questions that may be answered by this sample. For example, the investigation of inventories by area may show if there was a predominant use of the term for haberdashery vendors on a north/south divide. The sample can be examined to see if the haberdashers of the south had more hats than their compatriots in the north, and although conclusions regarding quality will not be possible there may be evidence to show differences in the quantity of small-wares stocked by the differently titled traders, and if it changed through time.

Even allowing for the vagaries of the survival of the evidence and subsequent calendaring – or lack of it – in record offices, there are pointers here to reflect on the relevance of the trade title. Bearing in mind that my record office trawls were aimed at finding as many examples as possible of traders selling haberdashery wares, no matter what their titles, it does indeed show that the goods were stocked by a considerable variety of traders other than those who were the recognised purveyors, the haberdashers and, by backward extension, the mercers. Of the titled traders 27% were mercers and 16% were haberdashers.

Haberdashery items themselves were small, but production and retail provided income for a significant number of people with different levels of skill or training, some of whom appear in the inventory sample. To supply the traders there was a sizeable hinterland of smallwares producers, such as ribbon weavers, pointmakers, bucklemakers, chapemakers, needle and pin makers. There were the wire drawers for the thin metal covering to be spun round silk to make gold and silver thread, there were the thread twisters, the lace makers, stocking knitters, inkle weavers, and the specialist button makers producing buttons of horn, bone, stitch work, metal, and expensive passementerie decorated with gold, silver and spangles.

It should also be remembered that while some of these producers would process the raw materials themselves, others, such as the weavers, would already be second or third stage producers. Although the exact number varies according to the reporter, it

is generally accepted that in the seventeenth century between 8 and 15 distinct operations, requiring as many as 10 labourers, were involved in the manufacture and packing of a simple paper of pins.<sup>414</sup> Indeed the most often quoted paragraphs of Adam Smith's 1776 publication *The Wealth of Nations*, are those illustrating the division of labour in practice through his description of pinmaking. It would be interesting, though almost impossible at this remove, to total the number of manufacturing trades concerned in the production of even a small haberdashery shop's stock – the most basic list of buttons, thread, needles, pins and ribbon will have involved not less than twenty processes, and probably considerably more than that. Additionally, at another level of trade were those producers whose end product incorporated haberdashery wares: bodice and stays makers, for example, and tailors, mantua- or dress-makers, hatters, girdlers, glove, and fan makers. Even shoemakers used haberdashery on those occasions when shoes had fabric uppers and were embroidered, decorated with spangles, and edged or fastened with ribbon or buckles (see Fig.18).

*The London Tradesman*<sup>415</sup> a book published in 1747 with advice for young persons seeking a trade, further highlights the number of people involved with the production of small wares and the way that the occupation of making and selling haberdashery changed through time. The book grouped together associated jobs in their hierarchies, sometimes with details of how the work was performed, often with suggestions for the qualities required to carry out the work, and with a guide to remuneration. Chapter 37. is 'Of the Taylor, and all such Trades as are concerned in furnishing Apparel.'<sup>416</sup> After a discourse on the art of tailoring, the writer moves on to 'those Branches who are employed by him, or with whom he deals'. The woollen-draper and mercer are 'as like one another as two Eggs, only the Woollen-Draper deals chiefly with the men, and is the graver Animal of the two, and the Mercer traffics most with the Ladies, and has a small Dash of their Effeminacy in his Constitution.'<sup>417</sup> The Haberdasher is ranked third in order of service to the tailor, and his supplies are noted thus, 'This shop-keeper furnishes [the tailor] with Buckram, Wadding, Plying, Hair-cloths,

---

<sup>414</sup> Hunt, J., *Pinmakers to the World*, (London: 1989), p 36.

<sup>415</sup> Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman*, (London: 1747), (Newton Abbot: reprint, 1969).

<sup>416</sup> *Ibid*, p.190.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid*, p.197.

Buttons, Mohair, Silk, Thread, Stay-tape, Binding, and every article relating to Trimming, except Gold and Silver Lace, which the Taylor has of the Laceman.’ Campbell goes on to point out that

[The Haberdasher] buys from the Wholesale Dealers in the several Articles mentioned and reaps a moderate Profit; but the Taylor makes the Customer pay at least Fifty per Cent, though he does not allow the Haberdasher, who is obliged to trust, near so large a Profit; however, between them the Wearer gives an unconscionable Price.<sup>418</sup>

The list of smallwares said by Campbell to be supplied by a haberdasher has a very mundane feel, when compared with a list of items known to have been on sale in a London haberdasher’s shop of the previous century. One of the reasons for that appears to be the diversion of many of the ‘pretty’ wares, according to Mr. Campbell, to the emporium of the Lace-Man, to be seen in his Chapter 30. The Lace shop is stocked with ‘all Sorts of Gold and Silver Lace, Gold and Silver Buttons, Shapes for Waistcoats, Lace and Network for Robeings and Women’s Petticoats, Fringes, Bugles, Spangles, Plates for Embroidery and Orrice, and Bone Lace Weavers, Gold and Silver Wire, Purle, Slesy, Twist, &c.’<sup>419</sup>

Campbell described the job of the orrice weaver as one which required a worker who ‘understands Drawing so much as to design upon Paper his own Patterns, wherein are described the Figure and Number of Threads to be moved, in order to raise it on the lace.’ A good worker, he noted, could earn fifteen or eighteen shillings a week. Orrice weavers made the ground-work, which was then ornamented by the bone-lace maker. Campbell linked the gold and silver lace men<sup>420</sup> to the metal trades, since the first step required wire drawing. ‘The Master [spinner] is paid by the Lace-Man at so much an ounce, who generally furnishes him with the materials.’<sup>421</sup>

The Silver by being flatted is made ready for Spinning, which is performed by Spinners brought up to that Business... Women are employed in this as well as Men, and may earn Twelve or Fifteen Shillings a Week honestly , but they are much

---

<sup>418</sup> Campbell, R., *The London Tradesman*, (London: 1747), (Newton Abbot: reprint, 1969), p.199.

<sup>419</sup> *Ibid*, p.147.

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid*, p.148.

<sup>421</sup> *Ibid* p.150.

given to pilfering the stuff and moistening the silk to make up the weight.<sup>422</sup>  
(see Fig.19)

It is of interest here to recognise that most of the workers described by Mr. Campbell are men, and when he does mention women it is in derogatory terms, as above. Yet the three-year project on 'The Growth of the Skilled Workforce in London c.1500-1750', based at the Centre for Metropolitan History in 1995, found that 'women seem to have played a prominent role in the improvement of the infrastructure supporting industry and commerce.' Tim Meldrum of the Institute of Historical Research states that:

a picture emerges of women flexibly employing a range of skills on a day-to-day basis and also across the life cycle...in a city whose custom and law permitted independent female economic operation, but precluded girls' and women's participation in most formal methods of training and apprenticeship.<sup>423</sup>

This view appears, at least on the surface, to be considerably more upbeat than some of the evidence would warrant. Despite the Statute in 1271 which provided that 'all workers of woollen cloths, male and female, as well of Flanders as of other lands, may safely come into our realm there to make cloths,'<sup>424</sup> women were later excluded from cloth weaving on the grounds that their strength was insufficient to work the wide and heavy looms in use. Orders were issued for Norwich Worsted Weavers in 1511 forbidding women and maids to weave worsteds because 'thai bee nott of sufficient powre to werke the said worsteddes as thei owte to be wrought.'<sup>425</sup> Even when virtually excluded from the weaving of 'cloaths' women continued to be habitually employed in the weaving of other materials: ribbons, tapes and other haberdashery wares. However in 1621 a petition was presented on their behalf against the invention which threatened a number with unemployment:

Also wee most humbly desire your worship that you would have in remembrance that some develishe invention which was invented by strangers and brought into this land by them, which hath beene the utter overthrowe of many poore people which heretofore have lived very well by their handy laboure which noew are forced to goe a begginge and wilbe the utter Destruction of the trade of weaving is some speedy

---

<sup>422</sup> Campbell, R., *ibid*, p.149.

<sup>423</sup> Gouk, P., Newsletter Editor and Director, *The Achievement Project Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 1 Spring, (1995), p.1.

<sup>424</sup> Riley, A., *Chronicles of London*, (London: n.d.), p.142.

<sup>425</sup> Tingye, *Norwich Records*, Vol. II, p.378.



course be not taken therin. Wee meane those looms with 12, 15, 20, 18, 20, 24, [sic] shuttles which make tape, ribbon, stript gatreringe and the like, which heretofore was made by poore aged woemen and children, but none now to be seene.<sup>426</sup>

Alice Clark noted that:

Following a proclamation in June of the following year, [1662] forbidding the exercise of the craft of gold and silver thread spinning by all but members of the Company of Gold Wire Drawers, women were only employed as sweated labour spinning metal thread. Their poverty is shown by the frequency with which they are mentioned as inmates of tenement houses, which through overcrowding became dangerous to public health. These poor women worked in the spinning sheds of their masters, and thus the factory system prevailed already in this branch of the textile industry; the costliness of the fabrics produced forbade any great expansion of the trade, and therefore the Masters were not obliged to seek for labour outside the pauper class.<sup>427</sup>

(see Fig.19 for use of spun metal thread)

Meldrum's findings indicate, however, that as time moved on, in addition to informal or unregulated transmission of skills in girls' homes or places of servitude 'the growth of the suburbs conspired with the ubiquitous concept of service to produce a range of opportunities in apprenticeship beyond the control of the livery companies.

Needlework equipped them for 'plain-work', mantua making, and all manner of sweated 'slop-work', but while spinning and knitting had largely left London and/or been taken over by men in 1700, women can be seen as bodice makers, tailors and upholsterers.'<sup>428</sup> Anne Buck noted that in the second half of the century the mantua-makers techniques showed greater skill and finish, and that at the same time the interest and expense of the gown was passing from fabric to trimmings, and 'now it was the trimmings on which time and care was spent...The milliner from this time took a more important place in the making of gowns, supplying the ribbons, laces, gauzes, flowers, fringes,<sup>429</sup> used in the making-up of trimmings as well as made-up ruffles, caps and head-dresses.'<sup>430</sup> In the City and Covent Garden a number of shops, called warehouses, carried on both wholesale and retail trade selling fabrics and all

---

<sup>426</sup> S.P.D., cxxi, 155, (1621).

<sup>427</sup> Clark, Alice, *Working Life Of Women In The Seventeenth Century*, (first publ. 1919), third edition with introduction by Amy L. Ericson. (London and New York: 1992), pp.143-4.

<sup>428</sup> Meldrum, T., 'Skilled Women and the Gendered Economy of Early Modern England,' in *The Achievement Project Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Spring, (1995), p.3.

<sup>429</sup> See Fig.20.

<sup>430</sup> Buck, A., *Dress In Eighteenth Century England*, (London: 1979), p.161.

the trimmings otherwise sold by haberdashers. They also had available a number of ready-made items such as greatcoats, cloaks, riding hoods, wrappers, bedgowns, chip and silk covered hats, morning gowns for men and masquerade habits. Tradesmen's cards of the eighteenth century demonstrate the variety of clothing for sale alongside the haberdashery wares. For example 'Packers Cheap Warehouse for Gentlemen, Readymade Clothes' in Gracechurch St. sold greatcoats, coats, waistcoats, breeches for men as well as greatcoats, cloaks and quilted petticoats for women.<sup>431</sup>

One of the main developments in the London economy in this period was that of the service sector, an area into which women moved efficiently as marketers and distributors of foodstuffs and a wide range of manufactured items. It is not unreasonable to suppose that haberdashery smallwares may have been among goods traded by working women, selling wares produced by other women in their homes or domestic situations. The evidence of the presence of such female traders with multiple occupations could well have disappeared simply because they were women. Evidence from ecclesiastical court depositions which reveal occupational information for witnesses, was used by Dr. Sara Mendelson at a conference associated with the project on 'The Growth of the Skilled Workforce in London c.1500-1750', to illustrate 'that there were far more women involved in artisanal crafts and urban service trades than previously thought, and that many of them were relatively autonomous.'<sup>432</sup> My collection of 314 inventories includes 20 women, with dates well spaced between 1543 and 1748, and having valuations ranging from a few pounds to over £800. The most immediately noticeable fact is that, while all the other areas have several examples, the whole of the northern section is represented by only one woman's inventory.<sup>433</sup> If chance has given us a documentary form of 'proportional representation' in the other areas, where are the inventories for northern women haberdashery sellers? That women were on occasion purveyors of smallwares in the north can surely not be disputed; for example, Nicholas Blundell in Lancashire mentions in his diary in August 1717, 'I got my Trinkets home from the Scotch

---

<sup>431</sup> Heal, A., *Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century*, (1968), quoted in Buck, A., *ibid*, pp.176-7.

<sup>432</sup> Quoted by Lane, P., 'Women's Initiatives in Early Modern England', in *The Achievement Project Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No. 1. Spring, (1995), p.5.

<sup>433</sup> CRO Carlisle 1670, Ann Hall, widow of Warwickbridge, 1670.

Womans’ - note the familiar use of ‘the’; this was not an unusual event meriting reference to ‘*a* Scotch Woman’<sup>434</sup>

When looking in more detail at the women’s inventories in the sample it is not surprising to see that fifteen of the twenty are widows, since possessions, shop wares and debts would have been part of the husband’s estate until his death. Two of the women are described as haberdasher’s widows, one is an ironmonger’s widow, and one is described in her will as a grocer’s widow. Three of the remaining five have no description or title added to their inventory name, one is called ‘Mrs.’ and just one is given a trade title – grocer.

## Conclusion

This study has shown the involvement of a large number of traders in the production and supply of haberdashery wares, in the selection of documentary sources found in selected counties. It is evident that some haberdashers sold smallwares, some sold hats, and some stocked both; while in addition, other traders also carried haberdashery. One inescapable conclusion is that the merchandise was greater than the merchant, in other words, the wares were of sufficient importance to be sold by a number of different types of trader. Indeed it can be said of no other category of merchandise that at least ten alternative outlets found it beneficial to carry such goods alongside their main stock. The presence of these commodities in petty chapmen’s inventories, and even more in the greater choice of wares in fixed shops, demonstrates that the goods were perceived as desirable at all levels of the market. It indicates that the production of goods was extensive enough to supply demand, and it demonstrates that the customers had sufficient available funds to spend on some non-essential items as well as the necessities.

---

<sup>434</sup> Tyrer, F., (ed.), *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, Vol. 2, 1712-19, 8<sup>th</sup> August 1717, (Liverpool: 1968-72), p.206.

# Chapter 4

## Analysis of Inventories

This chapter deals with the analysis and summary of the collected empirical evidence. Beginning with a description of the evidence and how it will be used, it proceeds with a county-by-county analysis of commodities.

### Methodology

The use of inventories as evidence challenges the historian to think laterally, and to be alert for trends and nuances. One must always be aware that quantification can be as meaningless as it can be meaningful, and only those questions for which the data is appropriate can be expected to give significant results. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are often a number of unknown factors in the inventories, such as quantity, quality and size of the valued items, which make a direct comparison of goods in one area against goods in another far from straightforward and possibly misleading. However, the careful examination of traders grouped by decade and by county produced information about the wares available to ordinary purchasers through at least part of the period under investigation. The best way to achieve such a view was through the individual breakdown of appropriate inventories.

As previously noted (Chapter 1.2) selection was made through the compilation of lists drawn up from indices or printed calendars in the focus County Record Offices. Since haberdashery wares were sold by a variety of retailers a wide examination of documents proved necessary and in the event examples of 23 differently titled occupations were associated with the sale of smallwares. These ranged from the obvious: haberdasher, mercer, chapman and various drapers; through the moderately likely: hosiery seller, merchant, weaver, merchant tailor, and bodice maker; to the less likely: silk man, point maker, girdler and glover. There were also widows, gentlemen, and yeomen, together with some most unlikely occupations in the collection of

London Orphans inventories stored at the Guildhall which included blacksmith, skinner, fishmonger, cutler, vintner and pewterer, whose inventories listed merchandise containing large quantities of rich haberdashery wares.

Transcribed into machine-readable form the traders and their wares were entered into the databases and, as mentioned in Chapter 1.2. It was also found useful to complete a worksheet for each trader. Worksheets were then examined and grouped by decade within their counties. As will be seen in the following chapter, on occasion the grouping of goods and the phrasing employed by the appraisers was meaningful and informative; such details would have been lost through the standardisation demanded by data entry. Each document was originally produced to comply with legal requirements but the circumstances and the participants were different in every instance.

The rigorous demands made of any artefact, as noted by Prown should not be overlooked or negated when examining a series of items. Each item should be scrutinised for ‘evidence of what it was, when and how it was made, who made and used it, and what it meant to the original wearer,’<sup>435</sup> or in the case of inventories, to the heirs.

## Focus Counties

### Cumbria

The thirty-six inventories and wills that comprised the Cumbria sample were collected primarily from Carlisle Record Office, with an additional few from the Lancashire County Record Office at Preston. Not all were trade documents; seven were included purely for the detail and value of the listed clothing. The earliest was dated 1609; the last was 1746. There were 15 before 1700, and 21 between 1700 and 1750. The 1720s had the largest number, but as always with inventories, it is doubtful that such

---

<sup>435</sup> Prown, J.D., quoted in Baumgarten, L., *What Clothes Reveal*, (New Haven and London: 2002), p.64.

numbers are significant. Of more significance may be the distribution: excluding the documents which were for clothes reference only, in Cumberland seven documents were from Carlisle, six from Penrith, two from Brampton and Wigton, and one each from Orton, Warwickbridge, Keswick, Lannercost, and Crossthwaite. In Westmorland there was a single document from Appleby, and a further two from Kirkby Stephen. Of the inventories where the trade was named by the appraisers, only one was actually called a haberdasher. There were also four mercers, four merchants, one grocer, three chapmen, one petty chapman, and one widow.

## 1600

For the observation of changes through time and area, as far as possible each decade should be scrutinised and assessed. Unfortunately, following the first document in the Cumbria sample there was a huge gap of over fifty years before the next available inventory for a trader with haberdashery. However the first one was large and detailed, and clearly demonstrated that customers in early seventeenth-century Penrith could expect quite a wide choice of basic fabrics and trimmings. Thomas Langhorn<sup>436</sup> was not given a trade title by the appraisers in his inventory dated 1609, but he could well have been described as a mercer. His wares were predominantly fabrics with a quantity of haberdashery and a small selection of ready-made items and useful wares, some of which might be loosely grouped under the heading of apothecary goods. He had forty-four differently named cloths in fifty-two lots, which, excluding the unmeasured remnants, pieces and part yards, added up to over four hundred yards. The fabrics themselves were mainly of the everyday, practical variety; kerseys, russets, fustians and cottons predominate, with a number of colour and type variations. There were, for example, eight differently coloured kerseys - a narrow 'homely' fabric, woven of longwool originating in Suffolk. These examples were mostly valued at a little over two shillings per yard, although 'pepper coloured' was marked at five shillings and threepence. With the exception of one red piece they were mostly in the green and blue range. There were four fustians – plain, Bolton, tufted and white tufted, and five cottons of different colours.<sup>437</sup> The three russets were priced at four or five shillings and a tawny at 5s.8d., while some of the cottons,

---

<sup>436</sup> LANGHORN Thomas, of Penrith, Cumberland. CRO: 1609 Langhorn.

<sup>437</sup> See Glossary for COTTON in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries.

the Scottish cloth and the 'bowtcloth' were only 5d. and 8d. per yard. Langhorn had just one example of a luxury cloth: 2 yards of velvet at 19s. a yard. The fabrics in his shop totalled just under £46.

Langhorn's haberdashery wares were an eclectic mix of items: five kinds of buttons, three sorts of points, seven varieties of thread, four types of silk, some ribbon and inkles. He also had nine varieties of made-up clothing or accessories, and a selection of small items: brushes, thimbles, glasses, pens and inkhorns, and a little paper. The most valuable group of items were the buttons at £3.5s.0d, among which he had 17 gross of silk buttons at 1s.8d. per gross, and more expensively 8 gross of hair and thread buttons at 3s. per gross. Other than the fabrics these were the only two entries valued at more than a pound. A cheaper sort of hair and thread buttons were only 8d per gross, but numbers were not given for the tin and brass which total 1s.8d, nor for the glass buttons, which were only worth 6d. altogether. Ready-made clothing accessories made up his next most valuable item of stock, totalling £1.15s 4d; these included purses, gloves, girdles, nightcaps, twilled caps, garters, leather key bands, a hood and a pair of 'stockings cut out'. These haberdashery wares associated with clothing totalled £9.14s.6d; a figure that does not include the small wares, such items as the beard brushes, tobacco pipes, thimbles, and dice.

## 1650-1670

The next available trader's inventory for Cumbria was from Carlisle, the county town, dated 1662. His appraisers did not ascribe a trade to James Halton<sup>438</sup>, but they described themselves as 'merchants.' The wares were, like Langhorn's, predominantly fabric with a good supply of haberdashery. However, the range and quality of the goods in Halton's shop were definitely superior. Although he had cottons valued at as little as 9d per yard, calico at 1s., Motley at 14d, Castilion and Tammy at 16d, and Kersey at 20d, a large proportion of his goods was valued at between 4s. and 7s. per yard. The most expensive single entry was for 3 pieces of Taunton serge at £2.18s per piece. Overall there were 80 entries for fabric totalling 917 whole yards, plus pieces and part yards, adding up to about £187. Several of the materials were identified by their fashionable trade names, such as Damisilla, Royall

---

<sup>438</sup> HALTON James, of Carlisle, Cumberland. CRO: 1662 Halton.

Oak, Happy change, Charles 2<sup>nd</sup>, Princes serge, and finally Fanatike and Ranters. It is worth mentioning that, not only were these interestingly ‘politically’ named, modern variations on older cloths being transported to, and sold in Carlisle, but also that the fabrics were so carefully distinguished one from another, by the merchant trader doing the valuation. Most intriguingly there were 15 variations on grey fabric: silver grey, sad stone grey, blue grey, mixed grey, stamell grey, light white grey, new grey, pearl grey and so on. Currently I can find no evidence for ‘grey’ being anything but a colour reference. Grey in some contexts would mean unbleached woollen cloth - the term was not used for linen, which was called brown when unbleached - but this can hardly be why grey was used here. It does not appear to be an abbreviation for a named fabric, yet apart from grey frieze and grey shagg, all the other grey items appear without a fabric qualification. Only two other items were given their colour – a red Damisilla and a yellow Tammy. It is probably safe to conclude that the predominance of grey fabrics, with a few white and black, reflected the goods that had been stocked during the Interregnum, which had only come to an end with the restoration of Charles II two years previously.

Halton’s haberdashery wares totalled just over £49, of which ‘seuerall sorts of buttons’ appraised at £10 was the largest single entry, with ‘seuerall sorts of Ribbin’ following closely at £9.9s.0d, together with ‘seuerall sorts of silke laces’ at £8.3s.6d. He had coloured and black and brown thread; coloured and white bindings; fringe, galloon,<sup>439</sup> tapes and sewing silk; 9 ounces of silver and gold lace which totalled £1.18s.3d; 3s.worth of hooks and eyes; 7s.6d. worth of pins with loop lace; and ‘5 knots of neck pearles’ at 3 shillings. He also had several items of ready-made small clothing and accessories: bodies, stirrup stockings, half-silk stockings, hoods, collars, belly pieces, gloves and waist points.

## 1670-1680

In the next decade two of the inventories were dated 1670; William Nelson<sup>440</sup> a grocer in Penrith, and Anne Hall,<sup>441</sup> a widow from Warwickbridge, just a few miles outside

---

<sup>439</sup> GALLOON (1604) A kind of narrow, close-woven ribbon or braid, of gold, silver or silk thread, used for trimming articles of apparel; a trimming of this. [OED/1980].

<sup>440</sup> NELSON William, of Penrith, Cumberland. CRO: 1670 Nelson.

<sup>441</sup> HALL Anne, of Warwickbridge, Cumberland. CRO: 1670 Hall.



Carlisle. Hall's wares were cloth and haberdashery. The fabrics were basic types, cambric, calico and Holland, with a few remnants of cloth, a say and a piece of 'p'melion',<sup>442</sup> which added up to £6.3s.1d. Over half the haberdashery, an unusually large percentage, was comprised of lace or laces, totalling £4.12s.11d. Ribboning and galloons came to £2; the meagre supply of only 2 sorts of thread were worth 5s.8d.; buttons were 6s., while thimbles, rings and 'small thinges' came to 4s.6d. In ready-made accessories Hall stocked a few black hoods, purses, coifs, bodices and two dozen gloves, all of which came to £1.3s.3d. The haberdashery wares were valued at £8.10s.8d, thus the shop goods came to £14.13.9d. Hall's debtors, a list of 14 women and 12 men, appended to the inventory, owed her almost twice that amount.

## 1680-1690

Of the five available inventories of the 1680s two were from Penrith, with no trade given, the other three were from Carlisle, one mercer and two merchants. The inventory of Joseph Carter<sup>443</sup> of Penrith showed him to have a wide variety of wares, of which haberdashery and small ready-made clothing and accessories accounted for around fifty percent. Following the small selection of inexpensive fabrics, and a fairly large selection of educational materials (grammars, psalters, ABCs, testaments and horn books) his assessors were helpfully particular over the pins. Carter stocked sizes No. 10, 11 and 12, together with London pins, Kokins, (more correctly spelled 'Corkings') and pins in sets. Size No.12 were the most expensive pins at 6s a dozen (presumably a dozen packets) of which he had £4 worth. He had filleting – narrow strips of woven fabric for binding or decoration – recorded as dyed, striped, orange and blue, and purple, worth more than £6, with ribbons and galloons valued at £10. It was unfortunate that the appraisers, so well informed over the pins, had much less interest in, or knowledge of, the buttons, which were lumped together in a single entry. The list of ready-made goods was also wide: necks (neckerchiefs) and belly pieces; bodys (bodices) and body-pieces ready cut-out; bongraces (a forehead-cloth or shade attached to the cap or bonnet); caps in silk, satin, leather and stripes; hoods and whisks (women's neckerchief/shawls); thread laces and points.

A breakdown of Carter's haberdashery is as follows:

---

<sup>442</sup> 'Bermillion' or possibly 'Vermillion'.

<sup>443</sup> CARTER Joseph, of Penrith, Cumberland. CRO: 1684 Carter.

Pins .....	£ 09 05 05
Buttons .....	07 04 04
Thread .....	02 11 05
Filleting .....	06 13 03
Inkle .....	09 08 02
Combs .....	03 17 07
Ribbon & galloon .....	10 07 03
Laces, tapes, sewing silk	11 19 07
Ready-mades .....	09 11 06
<hr/>	
Total .....	£ 70 18 06

John Harrison<sup>444</sup> who died in 1684, was described as a merchant of Carlisle. He had no fabrics and no made-up clothing accessories – with the exception of hatbands - among his wares, which were divided between grocery, apothecary, and haberdashery, all jumbled together in a disorderly mess. The haberdashery added up to about 15s. out of a shop total of £9.9s.9d, and even that must have been of poor quality when, for example ‘hatbands laces and thimbles’ were only valued at 4d, ‘britches buttons and clasps’ were only 8d, whilst ‘old lace and buttons Lace’ totalled 2d. In complete contrast, Richard Monke,<sup>445</sup> a mercer of Carlisle who died in the same year as Harrison, had a large house of eleven well-furnished rooms, and a flourishing shop, altogether valued at £155.8s.0d. The shop goods were stored in 12 boxes, whilst some quantities of expensive fabrics were stored in the house. At a little over £14 the haberdashery wares made up about one sixth of the merchandise. Buttons were his largest haberdashery stock with ten entries adding up to £4.13s., of which 20 gross of gimp coat breast buttons were at 18s., and 7 gross and 4 doz. hair (mohair) buttons came to 17s. 6d. The ready-made accessories, which totalled just over £2, were the usual mix of gloves, stockings, bodices, hoods and children’s caps, with some black silk caps for men, and much less commonly, 2 alamode ‘drolls.’ Droles, items not identified in reference works, have been found on only five other occasions in the inventory sample, one in Sussex, and four in the London Orphans collection. Two of the London deceased were haberdashers, one a merchant tailor,

---

<sup>444</sup> HARRISON John, of Carlisle, Cumberland. Merchant. CRO: 1684 Harrison.

<sup>445</sup> MONKE Richard, of Carlisle, Cumberland. Mercer. CRO: 1684 Monk.

and one a leather seller who mostly sold mercery.<sup>446</sup> The first two were used as proper nouns: '16 droles at 18d ..£1.4s.; 9 pr. of cambric sleeves & 19 droles..£4.10'. The third and fourth examples, as with the Cumbrian one, were in association with hoods: 1 p'cell of droll hoods..£4; 10 white sarsnett hoods and 4 droles; and in Carlisle eleven years later: '2 allomode Drolls with one lute stringe hood..£0.6s'.

Peter Norman<sup>447</sup> died in Carlisle in 1687 and his goods were appraised by, among others, one Timothy Haddock. In 1662 Timothy Haddock and Peter Norman, merchants of Carlisle, were the appraisers of James Halton of Carlisle, whose inventory, discussed above, contained so much grey fabric. It would seem more than likely that these were the same men. It was reasonable therefore to assume that twenty-five years later Mr. Norman, although still in trade, was into middle- or even old age. This sort of additional information is not often available to enlighten our thinking when looking at inventories. In this instance the inventory could be interpreted as belonging to a merchant who had been a successful businessman, but who was at the end of his working life. Several times the age of the goods was noted: 'old fashioned silk Lace', 'old fashion silver Ribbins', 'old fashond muff', 'old schoolbooks.' 'Broken' was a term sometimes used to indicate a mixed colour, but 'Broken silk & silver buttons,' 'Broaken Gimp buttons,' and 'Broken Box' probably meant damaged goods. Even so, his wares had once been good and he still had buttons of gold and silver, silk and silver, and silk. There were silver ribbons, silver lace and silk lace, together with eleven different fabrics including Farrendine, Parragon, Tabby, striped Holland, coloured London cloth and, the most expensive item, 2 pieces of black hair camblet valued at £3.12s.0d. His success as a businessman was evidenced by the fact that although at the end of his life his shop wares were only valued at £36.12s.8d, according to his inventory he owned sufficient buildings to be renting out seven furnished rooms. Including the debts he was owed on bonds and mortgages, his inventory totalled an impressive £4,134.08s.4d.

---

<sup>446</sup> EARDLEY Richard, of London, Haberdasher. Guildhall, Orphans 276. 1665; BAMFORD Robert, of London. Merchant tailor. Guildhall, Orphans 347 A 1667; ALLEN Herbert, of London. Haberdasher. Guildhall, Orphans 570, 1668; COOTE Edward, London. Leatherseller. Orphans Roll 889, 1673.

<sup>447</sup> NORMAN Peter, of Carlisle, Cumberland. Merchant. CRO: 1687 Norman.

## 1690-1700

The inventory of Richard Heath<sup>448</sup> of Carlisle, dated March 1692, was the only one in the Cumbria sample actually recorded as a Haberdasher. Sadly there was only sufficient detail to ascertain that he was a haberdasher in the sense ‘of hats.’ The single tantalising line showed this: ‘Goods in 2 shops as hatts lineings & hatbands.....£40 00 00’ He was owed £32, and the short inventory totalled £100.8s.0d.

The other inventories of the decade were also short ones: George Poull<sup>449</sup> of Brampton, and Henry Raw,<sup>450</sup> a mercer of Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland. Poull’s inventory was mostly comprised of a collection of Scotch cloth, and of handkerchiefs. This inventory was the first in the Cumbria sample to call attention to these items that would become more conspicuous in the next two decades. Poull’s stock of handkerchiefs numbered 25 items, made of silk or half silk, and totalled £2.8s.0d. His other haberdashery wares were only worth £4, plus a parcel of hair valued at £7.8s.0d, that in the circumstances, was not likely to be mohair.<sup>451</sup> There is some evidence that tradesmen took goods like hair in part payment, which they then passed onto appropriate dealers, it being by this time much in demand from wigmakers. His most valuable possession was his watch at £2. Raw’s chief assets were broadcloth, kersies and serges. His fabrics added up to £132.10s. and his haberdashery came to an additional £21.

## 1700-1720

No appropriate inventories were available for the first decade of the eighteenth century, and there were only two for the second decade, one of 1711 for Penrith and one of 1718 for Carlisle, with no trades recorded, and both somewhat disorganised. The haberdashery of the earlier one, Phillipson,<sup>452</sup> mainly took the form of small clothing accessories, cravats – not a common item – gloves, straw hats, and two sorts of handkerchief. There were 52 silk ones at 15d each which, at a total of £3.5s.0d,

---

<sup>448</sup> HEATH Richard, of Carlisle, Cumberland. Haberdasher. CRO: 1692 Heath.

<sup>449</sup> POULL George, of Brampton, Cumberland. CRO: 1695 Poull.

<sup>450</sup> RAW Henry, of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland. Mercer, CRO: 1695 Raw.

<sup>451</sup> Cox, N., *The Complete Tradesman*, (Aldershot: 2000), pp.178, 185.

<sup>452</sup> PHILLIPSON Christopher, of Penrith, Cumberland. CRO: 1711 Phillipson.

was only a shilling less than his most valuable item - 88 yards of Scotch cloth - and 40 linen and cotton ones at 7d. The £11.3s.6d. total for these wares was only slightly less than the total for mixed fabrics. Proctor<sup>453</sup> of Carlisle had a similar balance of goods with haberdashery adding up to £28 and fabrics to £33. He appeared to stock a little more of the sewing notions and decorative type of haberdashery – a few inkles, ribbons, pins, and buttons – but the first entry ‘Goods in a large box of all sorts...£17 06 05’ could well have included more mixed haberdashery wares. His ready-made goods included 16 pairs of gloves and four handkerchiefs.

## 1720-1730

Proctor also had cravats among his accessories, items only found once in the eight inventories of the 1720s although that could be attributable to individual appraisers’ terminology, but the popularity of handkerchiefs in that decade was really notable, only absent from those of Wharton,<sup>454</sup> Haddock,<sup>455</sup> and Scott<sup>456</sup>. It cannot be ascertained if the items in the inventories were actually finished goods, as it has been suggested that they were among the wares sold printed, but not cut out, or if cut not yet hemmed. However, in 1720 George Bell of Wigton,<sup>457</sup> described as a merchant, had coloured handkerchiefs valued at £7.11s.3d in his inventory, the same value as his kerseys and checked cotton, and more than either the camlets or Norwich stuffs. Poole,<sup>458</sup> with a modest establishment in Penrith, had ‘Scots Hands’ at only 5d.each, silks at 12d. and four printed cambric ones at 11d., making £3.12s out of his total of his shop valuation of £27. William Blacklock,<sup>459</sup> one on the appraisers of the previous trader, whose inventory detailed £58 worth of goods mainly in fabrics, had no ‘necessity’ haberdashery and only £1.6s. worth of caps, stockings and laces, with a small quantity of cravats. However he also had £10.9s.9d worth of handkerchiefs: silk ones at 18d. and 14d. each, two dozen printed ones, and fourteen dozen ‘Scots’ handkerchiefs at 7s. per dozen. It is worth noting that this Penrith inventory included

---

<sup>453</sup> PROCTER Leonard, of Carlisle, Cumberland. CRO: 1718 Procter.

<sup>454</sup> WHARTON Thomas, of Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland. Mercer, CRO: 1720 Wharton.

<sup>455</sup> HADDOCK James, of Carlisle, Cumberland. CRO: 1726 Haddock.

<sup>456</sup> SCOTT William, of Keswick, Cumberland. Mercer, LRO: Ref: WCW1728 Scott.

<sup>457</sup> BELL George, of Wigton, Cumberland. Merchant, CRO: 1720 Bell.

<sup>458</sup> POOLE Herbert, of Penrith, Cumberland. CRO: 1724 Poole.

<sup>459</sup> BLACKLOCK William, of Penrith, Cumberland. CRO: 1726 Blacklock.

a stall and stall cloth. Mackelay's<sup>460</sup> shop in the village of Crossthwaite had handkerchiefs at four different prices: 28d., 18d., 13d., and 10d., which totalled £5.10s.11d, while George Noble<sup>461</sup> of Appleby in Westmorland had only '5 silk hands and 3 neckcloths...11s.' in his shop in 1724.

As these Cumbrian inventories were examined more closely, it became evident that, as John Styles<sup>462</sup> clearly demonstrated, the received wisdom of plain and simple items being the only available wares in the north of England, must be challenged. James Haddock, described as a gentleman in his 1726 inventory, was a case in point. Obviously a man of some substance with tithes and rents due from other properties, his belongings were noted in eleven rooms in his Carlisle house and included such interesting possessions as a 'screw tore' (escritoire), tea tables with china ware, delph ware, cane chairs, Indian pictures and window curtains. His shop too must have been sizeable since his fabrics totalled well over six thousand yards in 130 separate entries, including such considerable bundles as 202 yds druggett, 292 yds. poplin, 238 yds. sarsnet, and 219 yds striped calamanco, in this instance written 'calamincies.' Eighty different fabrics were named; the most expensive were 'fine cloth' in different colours – dark grey, olive, black, dove colour, scarlet, drab, blue and 'green and red,' ranging in price from 12s. per yard for the red to 5s.6d. for the dark grey, with some remnants at 3s.6d. per yard. Black damask velvet was valued at 10s. per yard, while white flannel at 8½d. and buckram at 6d. per yard were his cheapest fabrics. The large stock of fabric was not echoed by the haberdashery which added up to only £15, mostly made up of lace with a little ribbon, and £4 worth of buttons described only as mohair, and metal. Gloves, hose, stockings and one waistcoat were the only ready-made items listed, which totalled £8.12s.8d. There were no handkerchiefs.

The final inventory in the 1720s was sadly lacking in detail. Given the trade of mercer by his appraisers, William Scott of Keswick had goods in the shop valued at £19.5s.3d. in 1728, 6s.8d.worth of 'goods at Broad-stone,' and more 'goods in the Chapmans Loft' at £1.12s.6d.

---

<sup>460</sup> MACKELAY Benjamin, of Crossthwaite, Cumberland. CRO: 1722 Mackelay.

<sup>461</sup> NOBLE George, of Appleby, Westmorland. LRO: WCW 1724 Noble.

<sup>462</sup> Styles, John, 'Clothing the North: The supply of Non-Elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile History*, 25, (1994).

## 1730-1750

Burges, Burrell and to a lesser extent Steward, three of the four inventories of the 1730s, continued to demonstrate the importance of handkerchiefs alongside their fabrics while having little in the way of other haberdashery wares. John Burrell of Wigton<sup>463</sup> died in May 1730 with fabric worth nearly £10, a few personal possessions, small quantities of thread, inkle and tape, 43 yards of ribbon and fifteen entries for handkerchiefs. They were of silk, cotton, and silk and cotton, but their value was not great, being a little less than £3. However, they were itemised with care and from the number/price ratio it can be seen that there probably were fifteen different sorts.

James Burges,<sup>464</sup> a chapman from Carlisle with a stall for the market noted in his inventory, had nearly two hundred handkerchiefs. These were recorded as being silk, Scotch and printed, totalling £5.17s of his £23 worth of fabrics, and within the handkerchief list were two bladders of snuff. He only carried one other item of haberdashery – Manchester inkle – and three pairs of hose, but his most valuable commodity by far was a quantity of hair, both horse and human, valued at £21.12s 3d. Daniel Steward<sup>465</sup> from Lannercost, identified as a petty chapman in 1738, carried 157 yards of material – linen, Holland and coarse Scots stuffs – worth £6.17s., together with twenty nine neck- cloths valued at nearly a pound, and twenty two handkerchiefs at 19s.11d, two of which were ‘fine printed silk’ at 2s.6d. each. It should be remembered that the term ‘handkerchief’ was, from at least the late sixteenth century, applied to cloths that were frequently used to cover the head or put round the neck in the manner of a ‘headscarf.’ The term ‘muckender’ was in use for the small cloths used for blowing the nose for the middling sort, and also for the poor who would be unlikely to spend the equivalent of a week’s wages on an expensive cloth for such a prosaic purpose. For the chapman the carriage and storage of these items would be easier than having a range of fancy wares, and yet handkerchiefs could supply the demand for attractive items in a choice of styles and qualities, and a range of prices.

---

<sup>463</sup> BURRELL John, of Wigton, Cumberland. LRO: WCW 1730 Burrell.

<sup>464</sup> BURGES James, of Carlisle, Cumberland. Chapman, CRO: 1738 Burges.

<sup>465</sup> STEWARD Daniel, of Lanercost, Cumberland. Petty Chapman, CRO: 1738 Steward.

The inventory of John Unthank,<sup>466</sup> merchant of Orton in Westmorland, had the commodities thoroughly mixed in a most intriguing manner. The entries for ‘2 stone of starch and some treacle’ were followed by ‘15 old sheep and six lambs’, then, 7 yards of Harden. Hops, hats and cheeses appeared on the same line; dung at 2s. and books at 12s. were immediately preceded by ‘3 yards of ferret at 5d’. There was a good selection of haberdashery wares: ferret, braid, ribbon, filliting and inkle, buttons by the bag, hooks and eyes, pins and needles, but it is frequently impossible to work out values: ‘Pins, cards and cumminseeds...3s. Thread & inkle, beat ginger and Jamaica...1s.9d.’ Where the figures could be isolated, the prices appeared particularly low. Entries for braid, for example, were only valued at £1.12s.1d. for a total of 619 yards, while 504 yards of ferret were assessed at merely 9s.11d. 1204 buckles were only thought to be worth £1.2s.4d., and the cloths were priced remarkably cheaply too, the highest entry being for 17½ yards serge and 24 ¾ yards buckram together totalling £1.10s.10d.

Of the final two inventories in the Cumbria sample, one was of doubtful value, since the cloth and hats belonging to James Allen,<sup>467</sup> yeoman of Brampton, could have been personal possessions. The other, however, that of Philip Sanderson<sup>468</sup> of Brampton, was a useful one since it was that of a bachelor chapman who died intestate. Administration was granted to his sister and his nephew ‘by the mother’s side.’ In such circumstances, to our benefit, there was need for the inventory to be carefully evaluated and thorough. Sanderson’s entire stock was valued at £75.18s.11¾d., of which the greater part was comprised of nineteen sorts of cloth, and the remaining third made up of haberdashery and small clothing accessories. The haberdashery, that is the sewing notions and fripperies, totalled £4.17s.6d. He carried only 1s.2d worth of buttons, and small quantities of practical sewing items; the silks and threads were worth merely £1.5s.11d, while tape, edgings, inkles and fringe added only a few shillings more. Ribbon was the largest single item at £1.17s.6d., and there were ‘15 dozen silver beades at 6s. 7d.’ He had four varieties of stockings: men’s, women’s, ribbed and boys, and of caps: men’s, double, silk and velvet. There were silk girdles, petticoats (cotton bordered), and white flowered aprons, but all of these were in small

---

<sup>466</sup> UNTHANK John, of Orton, Westmorland. Merchant, September, CRO: 1734 Unthank.

<sup>467</sup> ALLEN James, of Brampton, Cumberland. Yeoman, CRO: 1742 Allen.

<sup>468</sup> SANDERSON Philip, of Brampton, Cumberland. Chapman, CRO: 1741 Sanderson.



quantities and of low value, the 4 dozen and 8 head cloths being only worth 13s. Handkerchiefs, however, were a different matter, with twelve varieties and a choice of prices and qualities. These ranged from muslin at 1s.8d. each, red spotted ones at 1s.3d, South Sea, striped muslin, and cambric at 1s., to stamped ones at 7d., cotton at 8d., Scotts at 8d and 6d, and 'flored' at 6d. Totalling £11.6s.7d. the handkerchiefs were valued more highly than the rest of haberdashery and accessories added together.

The overall impression of shopkeepers and ware sellers through Cumbria was of the wide availability and range of fabrics, the rise of ready-made wares and the handkerchief in particular, and the interest in small haberdashery items available to ornament dress. Where they were offered, even if not in any great quantity, stocks of clothing accessories presented considerable choice across a range of items, indicating a demand for these goods. More than a few of the dealers in these small wares and fabrics appeared to have had profitable trade, some having land and possessions commensurate with having sustained successful businesses. A number of the traders had extensive lists of debtors, and although the debts were only for small sums, the overall value represented comfortable incomes over time.

It is true that although haberdashery featured largely in the earlier inventories, by the early 1700s the evidence regarding the presence of buttons, needles, pins and decorative wares had dropped off. Spufford's warning that 'increased rarity of comment...perversely argues a spread of usage.' is less likely to pertain in trade inventories than in domestic ones, but as noted earlier, when working with an unavoidably random selection of records, this could be attributed to any number of causes.<sup>469</sup> It is possible that the chance survival of inventories has left us with only those in which haberdashery was of small account and further investigation through other sources may corroborate or refute this apparent decline. However, the earlier part of the sample is convincing in its demonstration that despite Cumbria's distance from London, the desire to ornament dress was strong, even among the poor, and that in some instances an impressive choice of goods was available.

---

<sup>469</sup> Spufford, M., 'The limitations of the probate inventory,' in Chartres, J. and Hey, D. (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800*, (Cambridge: 1990).

## Lancashire

### 1590-1630

The first Lancashire inventory selected was that of William Awen,<sup>470</sup> a weaver. Not surprisingly his premises in 1590 contained quantities of cloth, kersey and frieze in particular, but he also had three inkle frames worth 2s., each with linen yarn and inkle to the value of 10s. He owed £8.16s., but had 54 debtors owing him more than £17 in sums from as little as 10d. The next three inventories were in the data set selected for the clothing interest,

The lengthy inventory of Roger Sankey<sup>471</sup> of Ormskirk, described as a Gentleman, was drawn up by eight appraisers in 1613 and gives the first information about the haberdashery and mercery available in the county. Sankey had well over a dozen types of fabric in his shop including Kentish cloth in three colours, a number of basic cloths and broad cloth, together with some more expensive items, such as taffeta, coloured velvet and a branched damask at 9s. a yard. His selection of lace was wide with thirteen different types, from coarse, statute and bobbin lace, to velvet lace - both narrow and broad - gold and silver, and silk and gold. He stocked three sizes of ribbon, 2d., 3d., and 4d. broad, totalling £2.14s.0d., his 6,000 pins were valued at 3s.6d., and there were two varieties of points. There was black thread together with  $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of Coventry thread, which was valued at 1s. per  $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Sankey offered only a little choice in the way of buttons; silk and gold, coarse silk and three variations of 'Longe silke buttens for cloaks,' at 2s. and 1s.4d. per dozen and 4d. each. His only form of ready-made clothing was of gloves, 14 pairs totalled 1s.6d. While Sankey's stocks were not quite as impressive as those of Langhorn of Penrith four years earlier, the range of fabrics and the number of laces again belie the traditionally held belief that the northern counties were rough and unsophisticated at this date.

---

<sup>470</sup> AWEN William, of Manchester, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1590 Wm Awen.

<sup>471</sup> SANKEY Roger, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. LRO WCW 1613 Roger Sankey.

Nine years later, in 1622, when the inventory of Thomas Stanynaught<sup>472</sup> haberdasher, also of Ormskirk, was written, the title on this occasion was used in the sense ‘of hats’ since all the goods in Stanynought’s shop were headwear, excepting a few buttons and two pounds weight of fringe worth 2s. About 80 hats and a considerable number of hatbands totalled £6.15s. With rents due on two pieces of land and a house Stanynaught appeared to be moderately well off. He had even more debtors than did Awen, with at least eighty names on his list. Although hatbands were indeed only valued at a few pence each, it seemed unlikely that there would be so many people buying only hatbands. So, judging by the small quantities of money owed, from £4 down to pence, it was quite probable that many of his customers were paying off their debts in small instalments, indicative of their desire to possess an item of clothing beyond their cash means.

In 1623 John Pares,<sup>473</sup> with a mercery shop in Rochdale, had sixty-two debtors owing sums of less than a pound with the combined value of £10.11s.10d. Here too an ‘on tick’ system seemed likely, reinforcing the contention that people wanted to buy clothes and smallwares which were not perhaps strictly necessary, or conversely that the items were necessary but that incomes were very low. His clothing accessories totalled £7.8s.4d and included caps, stockings, garters, girdles, five handkerchiefs, and seventy pairs of gloves. Many of the gloves would have been mourning gloves traditionally worn at funerals, and either bequeathed by the deceased in a will and paid out of the estate, or provided by a relative.<sup>474</sup> At a little over £3 lace was the next most valuable stock, with thread, metal smallwares – pins, hooks and keepers, rings and scissors - and inkle worth less than £2 each. Among his miscellaneous goods were several purses including nine Congleton purses at 6d each. This was a fairly high price when compared with the other purses, which were valued at 3d and 1d.

In the same year, 1623, hosier John Moxon<sup>475</sup> of Manchester stocked a good quantity of kersey alongside his 1,488 pairs of stockings. These were valued at £91 and

---

<sup>472</sup> STANYNOUGHT Thomas, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. Haberdasher, LRO: WCW 1622.

<sup>473</sup> PARES John, of Rochdale, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1623 John Pares

<sup>474</sup> Willan, T.S., *An Eighteenth-Century Shopkeeper, Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester: 1970).

<sup>475</sup> MOXON John, of Manchester, Lancashire. Hosier, LRO: WCW 1623 John Moxon.

included stockings made of silk, kersey, chained with silk, white, and knitted, in sizes for men, women and children. His lead, thread, and steel buttons added up to 3s.8d. and he had 7s. worth of thread. Also in Manchester in that year Thomas Columbell<sup>476</sup> appeared to specialise in the manufacture and sale of filleting and binding, and of points and laces. The largest value entry in the inventory was for £32 worth of filleting and binding, but among the yarns, threads, and coloured bobbins he had 16 great gross of points and 6 more of laces, together with:

unmaid points & laces 3 doz'	00 03 00
in cut heads for points 6 1/2 li'	00 10 00
Jone Liggs 3 li' of yarne for points	00 04 06
Margaret of Tettlowe i peece of phillitinge	00 01 06

It is not clear if Joan Liggs had the yarn on an out-work system, or if she owed the 4s.6d. for purchase; the same applied to Margaret of Tettlowe. These women could well be the beneficiaries of one of the 'projects' of the early modern period, earning a small income from making haberdashery items at home.<sup>477</sup>

John Heywood<sup>478</sup> of Little Leaver, a chapman, was credited with little pieces and braids at £12, with yarns adding a further £23.16s. 27 debtors names were listed owing just under £49. The position of an entry for 4 pairs of looms at the end of the inventory, after cows, sheep, butter and muck, and followed by 'odd things,' might be thought to indicate that these looms were buckets, especially as at only £1.12s.10d they were comparatively cheap. For comparison, only two years later in 1629, the inventory of weaver Hugh Meanley,<sup>479</sup> of Worsley, included:

loomes two paire & a frame & all things therunto belonging...01 07 08

---

<sup>476</sup> COLUMBELL Thomas, of Manchester, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1623 Thomas Collumbell.

<sup>477</sup> See Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978).

<sup>478</sup> HEYWOOD John, of Little Leaver, Lancashire. Chapman, LRO: WCW 1628 John Heywood.

<sup>479</sup> MEANLEY Hugh, of Worsley, Lancashire. LRO: WCW1629 Meanley.

However, the fact that they were recorded in pairs makes it more likely that they were weaving frames after all.

Mercer John Ashton<sup>480</sup> had haberdashery stocks assessed at £23 in his shop in Ashton under Lyne, including three sorts of buttons, four varieties of thread, hooks and eyes and pins, together with cloth valued at £19. However, his grocery wares, valued at £40, and his tallow and oils appraised at £88.6s.8d., were obviously of greater importance. The inventory of haberdasher William Holland<sup>481</sup> of Ormskirk gave the impression that the shop, with just a little furniture and a few cushions, had not been trading for some time.

### 1630-1640

The inventories of the 1620s were not helpful from a haberdashery point of view, but the first two of the 1630s were rather different. Stephen Radley,<sup>482</sup> described as a gentleman, sold mercery wares in Manchester and had an additional income from rents elsewhere. Lace was the most highly valued of his wares at £31 out of a total of £74; accessories were next at £13 for a large number of garters, some coifs and 19 bodices. Threads were valued at £10 and tapes at £8. He had red and white pins – 14 dozen for £4.11s. and coarse ones for 12s. James Hodgson<sup>483</sup> of Huyton also sold mercery, in both Huyton and an unnamed second place. The shop wares added up to £35.9s. and clothing accessories topped his list at £16.16s., primarily hose but also girdles, garters and hoods. There were about eight sorts of lace, though none of them was priced particularly highly, and both the ribbons and threads had less choice of style but higher values.

The very large inventory recorded for Richard Sankey<sup>484</sup> in 1634, indicate that he benefited from and built upon his father's expertise,<sup>485</sup> having greatly extended the range of fabrics, groceries and apothecary goods in their Ormskirk shop. While the quantities of haberdashery had also increased, the balance of wares was very similar

---

<sup>480</sup> ASHTON John, of Ashton under Lyne, Lancashire. Mercer, LRO: WCW1628 Ashton.

<sup>481</sup> HOLLAND William, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. Haberdasher, LRO: WCW 1629 Holland.

<sup>482</sup> RADLEY Stephen, of Manchester, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1630 Stephen Radley.

<sup>483</sup> HODGSON James, of Huyton, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1633 James Hodgson.

<sup>484</sup> SANKEY Richard, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. LRO WCW 1634 Richard Sankey.

<sup>485</sup> See above, SANKEY Roger, 1613.

to that in his father's time. For example Richard Sankey stocked 19 different types of lace compared to Roger's 13 varieties, but lace was still the largest type of haberdashery ware. Richard also had only a small choice of buttons – small silk, thread, silk and silver, cloak – only two varieties of thread, and only two sorts of points, silk and small silk. He had a little black ribbon and some ferret together with thread, fringe and sewing silk. He had no pins but there were needles, thimbles, knitting needles and 7 papers of 'small hooks.' Since 'hooks & eyes' in the quantity of a gross for 1s.6d., and 'od hooks and eyes in a pap' for 8d. appear elsewhere, it is possible that the small hooks associated with knitting needles may be for crochet type work.<sup>486</sup> Neither had Richard moved towards selling much ready-made ware, having only 7 girdles and 2 pairs of bodices. Nevertheless, the impression gained from this inventory is of a richly stocked shop with contents that could also be found in London at the same date.

The remaining three documents of the 1630s were unrewarding: William Poole<sup>487</sup> of Ormskirk, a chapman, had plenty of evidence of his trade with a pack-saddle, panniers, woonties and ropes, but no wares at all; George Clarke<sup>488</sup> a haberdasher of Manchester, had no wares but may have had a hat press; and Anthony Holme,<sup>489</sup> a pointmaker also of Manchester, had £58.12s. worth of yarn, 2 pairs of looms with work on them, and yarn 'valued by the book' at £14.18s.4d. put out to be worked elsewhere, but no stocks of wares.

## 1640-1650

In the first inventory of the next decade, that of silkweaver Timothy Hulme<sup>490</sup> of Manchester, had plenty of haberdashery wares in his shop. There were ribbons to the value of £13.11s., laces and points of silk and cotton worth £10.13s., a few tapes and £5 worth of hair, thread and silk buttons. His threads, some of which may have been

---

<sup>486</sup> Caulfeild, S.F.A., and B.C.Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework*, (Exeter: 1989), date the rising popularity of crochet from about 1838, but state that it was produced on the continent in the sixteenth century, mainly practiced in nunneries from where it was taken to Ireland and made under the name Irish Point. However, it was also known in England. p.102.

<sup>487</sup> POOLE William, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. Chapman, LRO: WCW 1634 Wm' Poole.

<sup>488</sup> CLARKE George, of Manchester, Lancashire. Haberdasher, LRO: WCW 1638 Geo Clarke.

<sup>489</sup> HOLME Anthony, of Manchester, Lancashire. Pointmaker, LRO: WCW1637 Holme.

<sup>490</sup> HULME Timothy, of Manchester, Lancashire. Silkweaver, LRO: WCW 1648 Hulme.

for use in the workshop, added up to over £40, although further supplies of silk and thread at £7 were recorded in a chamber over the kitchen and in the loom house. There were 6 looms – one noted as new at £1, and three as old at only 4s. each; the other two were worth 12s. and 13s. The seventeen different fancy ribbons and the choice of imported silks (for example Arganzina,<sup>491</sup> coloured Messina; coloured legie [Liege]; tinsel; pink and black Naples) appear to be the threads of fashion and frippery, which for that date would be expected in London but not in Manchester. It was unfortunate that London inventories were not forthcoming for a similar date for the sake of comparison.

The other two 1640s inventories were less interesting. The goods of Richard Oldham<sup>492</sup> were summarised as ‘woollen cloth stuffes ffustians Colered silke silke lace Lynen cloth grocerys wth' other necessaryes in the Shopp...169 00 00.’ while Lawrence Newall,<sup>493</sup> a mercer of Rochdale had a respectable show of grocery and spices but his haberdashery stocks only amounted to yarn, thread, inkle and lace worth £8.11s.

## 1650-1660

In 1659 mercer James Hamer,<sup>494</sup> was well stocked with haberdashery in his Rochdale shop, although at a total of £20 the values seem rather low. Thirteen different types of ribbon and pointing produced a total of £4.17s.4d., while the lace, metal smallwares, buttons and thread sections each had totals between £3.3s. and £3. There were ten sorts of button in thread, silk, silver, and gold and silver of varying sizes. Several of the ribbons were itemised by colour:

mixt Ash coulor pointinge 15s    00 15 00  
24 yrs of Sad musse pointing    00 06 08

---

<sup>491</sup> Presumably ‘organzine ..the silk of which the best silk textiles is made..cleaned, spun, doubled, thrown and considerably twisted..imported from Italy until...throwing commenced in England in 1719. Caulfeild, S.F.A, and B.C. Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework*, (Exeter: 1989), p.373.

<sup>492</sup> OLDHAM Richard, of Ashton under Lyne, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1649 Richard Oldham.

<sup>493</sup> NEWALL Lawrence, of Rochdale, Lancashire. Mercer, LRO: WCW 1649 Lawrence Newall.

<sup>494</sup> HAMER James, of Rochdale, Lancashire. Mercer, LRO: WCW 1661 James Hamer.

Ash colour is a supposed lighter grey than rat, the other often used descriptor for grey, while ‘sad musse’ translates as dark mouse.<sup>495</sup> ‘Whelcoller’ was clearly written, but no definition can be found, unless it was a mis-writing for wheycolour – a pale bluish/white. Twelve months later in Manchester James Tildesley,<sup>496</sup> another mercer, had similar wares but a much higher total valuation of £147.3s. Unfortunately the items were not quantified so apart from knowing that loop lace, silk, gold and silver and crewel made up the £34 of laces, and that ribbon and galloon added together totalled £60, no further detail was available for comparison with Hamer.

### 1660-1680

A grocer, a chapman and two general merchants represented the 1660s. John Burgess<sup>497</sup> of Bolton had a well-stocked little grocers shop, with about £12 worth of thread, ribbons, lace and small metal wares. However two of the laces were noted as ‘old fashioned’ and there were only bellypieces, pinnars and neckerchiefs ready-made. Thomas Walkden,<sup>498</sup> a chapman in Blackburn, had £4 worth of accessories – gloves, caps, bodices and Welsh garters – together with a little bonelace, ribbon, tape, points, pins and handkerchief buttons. Laurence Benson<sup>499</sup> of Blackburn had about ten entries for fabrics in his inventory in 1665, together with half a dozen haberdashery items that were valued at £7, with bodices being the only ready-made item in stock. In the same year the haberdashery goods of Edward Allcocke<sup>500</sup> of Liverpool were valued at even less, £4.19s., but although he was noted as having some old fashioned ribbon, and even some ‘old decaid’ hatbands, his few laces - silk, loop lace and St. Martins - the bellypieces and collars, the Manchesters, cotton tapes and breech buttons, have more in them to interest a customer than the previous shop’s wares.

---

<sup>495</sup> Mouse-colour: (1.) A colour like that of the common mouse: a dark grey with a yellowish tinge. OED/1980.

<sup>496</sup> TILDSLEY James, of Manchester, Lancashire. Mercer, 1659/60 LRO: WCW 1660 James Tildesley.

<sup>497</sup> BURGESS John, of Bolton, Lancashire. Grocer, LRO: WCW 1661 Burgess.

<sup>498</sup> WALKDEN Thomas, of Blackburn, Lancashire. Chapman, LRO: WCW 1662 Walkden.

<sup>499</sup> BENSON Laurence, of Blackburn, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1665 Benson.

<sup>500</sup> ALLCOCKE Edward, of Liverpool, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1665 Edward Alcock.



## 1680-1690

There were no appropriate inventories for the next decade but the year 1680 provided two, with two more in the 1690s. Despite his title of mercer, Henry Arrowsmith<sup>501</sup> of Hale had considerably more farm goods than shop wares. He had cloth valued at £10, with silk, thread and buttons at 3s. Richard Riddinges<sup>502</sup> had a reasonable quantity of choice in his goods. Prices, however, were low - for example men's better quality gloves were only valued at 4d. a pair - so that even with nine different ready-made accessories, three sorts of lace, four of points, inkle and tape, and a few other odds and ends, the haberdashery only came to a meagre £1.12.6d. How very different this was from the 1684 inventories of Carter of Penrith, and Harrison of Carlisle with haberdashery at £14.

## 1690-1700

Although the 1694 shop total of Thomas Tetlow<sup>503</sup> in Oldham was higher than Riddinges's, at £88.13s., the wares were amalgamated into one large entry with no quantities given. The inventory of Richard Shaw<sup>504</sup> of Liverpool at the turn of the century was a different matter. Shaw was called a grocer in the superscript, and indeed he did have the usual mix of raisins, sugar, starch, hops and spices with some tobacco and general merchandise, but his main sales must surely have been made in his haberdashery, and in particular the hosiery, department. Seventy-two entries added up to £53.8s. which included several hundred pairs of stockings with prices ranging from 6d. to 4s. a pair. There was a big range of tape, with 23 entries totalled at £10.10s., and of thread, where ten entries were valued at £7.12s. He also had more than the usual amount of choice amongst the pins: Bridges and Bridges best, Middle sort, No.12, short, and Big pins. Thimbles were in brass for women and iron for men. Hooks and eyes were also for men and for women; laces were stocked in leather, thread, and cotton. Shaw stocked no buttons or lace, and had only one piece of ribbon worth 10s. and points worth 2s., but there were twenty-eight entries for combs made of horn, or wood in various sizes. The total shop wares added up to £254.

---

<sup>501</sup> ARROWSMITH Henry, of Hale, Lancashire. Mercer, LRO: WCW 1680 Arrowsmith.

<sup>502</sup> RIDDINGES Richard, of Bury, Lancashire. LRO: WCW1680 Riddinges.

<sup>503</sup> TETLOW Thomas, of Oldham, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1694 Thomas Tetlowe.

<sup>504</sup> SHAW Richard, of Liverpool, Lancashire. Grocer, LRO: WCW 1699 Shaw.

## 1700-1740

Chapman of Manchester, James Barrett,<sup>505</sup> had only thread, yarn and lace valued at £13.15s in his stock in 1706; his equipment, however, comprised two twisting wheels, four pairs of Dutch looms, a dressing frame, creels, and other materials, and was worth £11.5s. The following year Thomas Rishton,<sup>506</sup> described as a mercer, had mostly fabric in his Chorley shop. The wares' total was £131.16s. It is not possible to be specific due to the random grouping of items for valuation - for example cloths with paper, inkle and filleting with hardwares - but perhaps a quarter of that sum was in haberdashery goods: silver lace and fringe, galloons and ribbon, fillet, ferret, and mohair thread. James Bolton,<sup>507</sup> a Bury mercer in 1727, had haberdashery valued at £45.5s. with over £400 worth of assorted fabrics and about £50 in grocery. This inventory shows an upsurge in the supply of buttons, with two sorts of metal, two sorts of thread, velvet, twist, worsted – and a few old ones. At just over £6 pins were, unusually, more highly valued than thread at £5.17s. Worsted stockings and men's and boy's hats came to £7, but the three tapes gave the highest section total of £19. In the last Lancashire inventory dated 1737, the presence of a mare, panniers, saddles, boxes and pack sheet suggests that William Dollas<sup>508</sup> was a mounted, rather than an on-foot petty chapman. Furthermore, his stock would have required extra transport since most of the items were books or made of metal. The inventory total was only a little over £18. The greatest entry was for '22 Dozen and five small Chapmans Books' worth £5.12s.1d., but as well as the 538 assorted books and just a few shillings worth of sleeve and 'common sleeve' buttons, thimbles and hooks, the remainder of his wares was made up of 125 assorted buckles made of yellow bath metal, or white bath metal. They were for men, women and children, for shoes, knees, or stock, and totalled £1.10s.5d.

The evidence gained from these inventories of Lancashire through the period 1590 to the early 1700s indicated that, with one or two exceptions, such as the Sankeys, less was available for purchase than in Cumbria. The mercers certainly offered a range of quality fabrics, but the choice of haberdashery was surprisingly limited for an area

---

<sup>505</sup> BARRETT James, of Manchester, Lancashire. Chapman, LRO: WCW 1706 James Barrett.

<sup>506</sup> RISHTON Thomas, of Chorley, Lancashire. Mercer, LRO: WCW 1707 Rishton.

<sup>507</sup> BOLTON James, of Bury, Lancashire. Mercer, LRO: WCW 1727 Bolton.

<sup>508</sup> DOLLAS William, of Wigan, Lancashire. Petty Chapman, LRO: WCW 1737 Dollas.

specifically involved with developing the manufacture of many haberdashery wares in the form of threads, tapes and ready-made accessories. Defoe, for example, describing the clothes of the 'poorest countryman' in the 1720s included: 'stockings of yarn, from Westmorland...garters from Manchester,'<sup>509</sup> yet garters were only listed three times in the sample, and one of those was of Welsh garters. Indeed apart from a few specialists, such as the vendors of stockings and of hats, ready-made accessories in general were limited. There appeared to be no upsurge in the presence of ribbons or of buttons as the fashions changed, and there was no rise in the supply of handkerchiefs. Few gloves or caps were present except in two particular cases, nor was there a choice of sundry other items of dress available as there was further north, not even in the necessities such as bodices, drawers or shifts. A few of the merchants apparently had profited from flourishing businesses but there were a greater number of far smaller inventory totals than for the more northerly traders. There were several inventories with associated lists of numerous debtors owing small sums, taking advantage of a well-established system of payment in arrears, and demonstrating thereby a desire for possessions beyond their present means. Despite this, there was in the Lancashire sample less sense of the richness and display than in that for Cumbria.

## Warwickshire and Leicestershire

The thirty-three documents collected for Warwickshire were merged with the eighteen for Leicestershire giving good coverage of the Midland region over a long period. Lichfield Joint Record Office was comparatively rich in early Coventry inventories with eight documents representing the years 1543 to 1599. In a pattern fairly typical of other large towns, where tradesmen's inventories are much less common than in smaller towns, the quantity declined until the 1670s and 1680s, when there were large numbers available, and then stopped abruptly apart from a single one in the 1700s. In contrast, the Leicester sample, which began in 1636, filled the Warwickshire gap up to 1670 and then continued with a useful six examples in the 1700s. There were also four documents from each county included specifically for clothing reference.

---

<sup>509</sup> Defoe, D, *The Complete English Tradesman*, Vol.1 (London: 1745), p.263-4.

Inventories with detailed clothing reference were uncommon, but where they were found they helped clarify such points as, for example, how smallwares were used, how they were perceived by the appraisers and in some instances the importance of clothing as possessions.

## 1543-1560

The first from Warwickshire was a little earlier than the official starting date of this sample, and was probably that of a mercer's widow to judge by her wares and her four mercer appraisers. The goods of Agnes Swynscoe<sup>510</sup> were the typical mercers' mix of textiles, luxury spices and dried fruits, practical and decorative haberdashery with ready-made accessories, plus a few odds and ends such as brushes, purses and wash balls. Of the thirteen different fabrics '19 elles of fyner Holland ..14s. 03d.' was the most valuable entry. By comparison ½lb of London ribbons at 14s. was the most expensive item in her shop. There were a number of different threads, 500 great pins at 10d, and three types of clothes- fastenings, namely points of silk and 'other', clasps and keepers, and latten hooks – but no buttons, substantiating Howe's comments that

.. at the same time (1570) the making or wearing of silke buttons, was very little, or not at all knowne to the generality, but onely to the very best sort, who at that time made buttons of the same stufte, their doublets, coats or Ierkins were made of.<sup>511</sup>

Swynscoe's total shop goods were valued at £35.14s.9d of which haberdashery and clothing accessories came to £1.12s.5d.

Two inventories from Coventry in 1551 had somewhat similar wares itemised. Both listed about a dozen different types of cloth, and a small selection of threads and inkle; both had Paris thread at around 18s., and a mix of useful small items such as combs and paper. Neither had buttons or other fastenings, except for Anthony Gans' 2 gross of points and some farthing laces.<sup>512</sup> Ralph Walton<sup>513</sup> had papers of pins by the dozen in about ten different sizes or qualities totalling £6.4s.10d., while

---

<sup>510</sup> SWYNSCOE Agnes, of Coventry, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1543 Swynscoe.

<sup>511</sup> Howes, E., (1615) Stowe's *Annales*, in Furnivall, Frederick J, (ed.), *Harrison's Description of England...* (London: 1978), p.35.

<sup>512</sup> GANS Anthony, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Mercer, LJRO: 1551 Gans.

<sup>513</sup> WALTON Ralph, Coventry, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1551 Ralph Walton.

conversely Gans, identified as a mercer with a shop and warehouse, had only 7000 pins valued at 4½d. per thousand, worth 2s.8d. Both, however, had a considerable number of hats and caps. Walton had hats made of worsted rug<sup>514</sup> valued at 12½d. each, Gans had hats of Norwich rug at the same price, and also of silk rug priced at 2s. each. Walton's felt hats were valued at 3s.6d, 10½d., and 6d. each, Gans' were 4d., 7d. and 1s. each with the addition of 'French felts' at 10½d. and children's felts at 4d. Gans also had fringed hats at 10d. and 7d. Since these are placed within the group of felt hats they may well also have been made of felt. Both inventories had a variety of caps with silk, white, satin, and children's size in common. Walton also had French, and velvet caps, plus an entry for 'ii prests Cappes...6s.', which may be priests' or pressed; at the price of three shillings each it seems more likely to be the former even though this was an unusual entry. Another uncommon entry in this inventory was the inclusion within the caps list of:

Hempe ii dosen & a half	- xv	-	00 15 00
Half A dosen fflax	- ii	vi	00 02 06

It was perfectly plausible for caps to be made of flax and of hemp, but they do not appear elsewhere in this sample of inventories.

Together with shared varieties of caps, Gans' list included 'sengle cappes' and 'red sengle' at various relatively high prices, two of the caps being at 3s. each. The word, written several times as 'sengle,' may be 'single' or a variation on 'sendal', which is defined as 'A thin stuff like sarsnet but coarser and narrower, made of silk.'<sup>515</sup> He also had 'wolyn nygt cappes' at 4½d., and buttoned caps at 1s.; neither of these items commonly appears in inventories. The total of Anthony Gans' inventory was £69.4s.5d., of which smaller haberdashery wares contributed £3.2s.4½d. and headwear a not inconsiderable £11.18s.7d. Walton's haberdashery came to a little over £9 and his headwear to £18.2s.6d. It was interesting that these two merchants, in the same place and time, should stock such similar wares and that, although Walton

---

<sup>514</sup> RUG: rough material, usually woollen, a sort of coarse frieze, in common use in the 16-seventeenth centuries. OED/1980.

<sup>515</sup> Glossaries of the *Accounts of the Master of the Revels*, Feuillerat, Albert, (ed.), (Louvain: 1908).

had an additional £3 worth of sewing silk, both had only a limited selection of constructional and decorative haberdashery. Such trading situations may not have been uncommon, for example Trinder and Cox found comparable circumstances in Wellington, Shropshire.<sup>516</sup> Although not a large town at that point, Coventry was evidently large enough to support several mercers selling similar wares. Presumably strategies were worked out for their individual survival in the marketplace, and the similarity of goods demonstrates the demand for those items.

## 1560-1570

It was disappointing for this study that the inventory for the sole representative of the Midlands in the 1560s should contain so little information with regard to his wares in comparison with the clearly itemised account of his personal possessions. The appraisers of Thomas Clark,<sup>517</sup> mercer of Coventry who died in 1563, created an extremely interesting document in their detailed valuation of his well-furnished home, his clothing (such as: j gowne faced wethe buggs & Lyned wethe Lame at xlvjs viijd.), and his farm - from the eleven cattle and four horses right down to the ducks and drakes. Indeed, if it were not for the following lines, which contain the largest single sum in the inventory, one would assume that trading had ceased in favour of farming:

the Shelves & valence abowght	
the Shope at vjs viijd	00 06 08
ij Clothes at London xvij li	18 00 00
It'm more wolle & yarne at xl li	40 00 00
together with:	
iiij blewe Clothes at xxxij li	32 00 00
ij white Clothes at xij li	12 00 00

## 1570-1580

Sixteen years later Elizabeth Hurte,<sup>518</sup> a widow of Coventry, had her extensive wares and possessions appraised by her next-door-neighbour, among others. Of the £126

---

<sup>516</sup> Trinder, B. and J. Cox (eds), *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford; probate inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine*, (Chichester: 1980), p.20.

<sup>517</sup> CLARKE Thomas, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Mercer, LJRO: 1563 Clarke.

<sup>518</sup> HURT Elizabeth, of Coventry, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1578 Hurt.

inventory total, which included a considerable quantity of grocery, apothecary and hardwares, and glass and pottery goods from the warehouse and ‘glass shop’, the mercery shop total was £21.14s.5d. Quantities and values of haberdashery wares were small and the choice was only moderate: two types each of inkle and crewel, and five varieties of thread, including the renowned local Coventry thread, but only one ribbon, ‘englyshe’ at 14d per ounce, although ‘xiiij p sayes & checkes, all...iiij s’ may have been ribbon pieces as opposed to whole fabric. There were no buttons or other sorts of made fastening, just three sorts of points, while the only ready made accessories were seven old hats and four old taffeta hats at 3s.4d. and old gloves unpriced. Widow Hurte stocked ten types of fabric, camlet being the most expensive, and she had a large supply of spices. Her book stocks were moderately extensive too, valued at £2. The shop equipment and furniture, with a number of scales and balances and five desks in the window give the impression that this was a substantial establishment. Even if the desks were more likely to be in the form of portable cases with writing materials, spices or apothecary wares, rather than a table at which to be seated, it was a sizeable number. Furthermore, not only was there a warehouse where the oils, vinegar, sugar and even some oranges were stored, but there was also a tavern – a workshop or cellar – where the soap, spices, dried fruits and honey were kept, presumably in dry conditions. It was interesting also to note that every chamber in her house contained paintings that were valued on a par with the furniture, and that her personal clothing was itemised and totalled nearly £6.

## 1580-1590

The 1580s were represented by a haberdasher, Richard Fitzherbert,<sup>519</sup> at the beginning of the decade, and a draper, Arthur Bowlat,<sup>520</sup> at the end. Fitzherbert was undoubtedly a haberdasher of hats. His entire shop stock consisted of hats in velvet, taffeta, felt, worsted, and silk, and 100 hat- and cap-bands. The total of these wares was £ 5.5s.10d, while the shop furniture, and household items made the sum of the whole inventory £30.6s. There were no records of working tools or remnants, unlike the inventory of Bowlat’s possessions in which several implements were valued including: ‘a stole, w’th a cutting borde, iiij paire of sheares.’ The latter’s twenty

---

<sup>519</sup> FITZHERBERT Richard, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Haberdasher, LJRO: 1580 Fitzherbert.

<sup>520</sup> BOWLATT Arthur, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Draper, LJRO: 1589 Bowlat.

different cloths were valued in twenty-nine entries, with two white broad cloths at £17 appearing twice, but with nothing else valued more highly than the 50 yards of grey frieze at £1.19s. No haberdashery was available, but there were entries for '21 pare of womens hose maid and unmaid' at 17s., 2 dozen and four pairs of 'scocks' at 1s.6d. per pair, and four pairs of course socks, made and unmade, for 2s.8d. The shop wares total was £46.9s.6d (including the £17 which may have been an erroneous duplicate entry) while the whole inventory amounted to £148.10s.8d.

### 1590-1600

Ten years later mercer Thomas Fynis<sup>521</sup> had two shops in or near Coventry. Both were especially well stocked with spices and grocery. He had a little haberdashery, mostly of the practical and necessary sort: thread, inkle, pins, and binding. In the larger shop there were also leather laces and leather points, but that still only made the haberdashery worth about one pound. There was even less in the other shop, just four shillings-worth including some remnants of lace, but values throughout the entire inventory were very low, and the whole document only totalled £12.10s.

### 1600-1630

The first seventeenth-century inventories in the sample were those of a mercer in Tamworth and a silk weaver in Coventry. The 1604 inventory of the shop wares of William Allen<sup>522</sup> of Tamworth was completed in a somewhat haphazard manner, with spices, grocery and apothecary goods jostled together with small hardwares and the occasional haberdashery item, such as point tags. Allen had a fair selection of eighteen different fabrics mostly in small quantities of a yard or so each, although there were eleven yards each of fustian and of Leven taffeta, and fourteen yards of black stuff. The haberdashery totalled a little less than £3 with hats, hat bands and cap bands – the only made-up items – adding a further £2.8s. Most of the haberdashery was of the decorative type with examples of velvet- and silk-fringe lace, 'facing of Cooney furr for a Cloak' at 12d, a piece of 'Towe Ribboning' for 2s.8d., and black crewel fringe for 4s.8d. There were also more ordinary items; leather points, inkle, coloured silk and black thread for sewing and the most valuable

---

<sup>521</sup> FYNIS Thomas, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Mercer, LJRO: 1598/9 Finnies.

<sup>522</sup> ALLEN William, of Tamworth, Staffordshire. Mercer, LJRO: 1604, Allen.



commodity in the list, one pound weight of brown thread at 12s.10d. In the haberdashery section was the line 'hatband an 3 doze of boottons..2s 8d'. This was the first mention of buttons in the Warwick sample, dated just five years before the first buttons in the Cumbrian section. Less helpfully, nearly at the end of the shop goods and easy to miss between 'barbary Sugar, one payr of wye sleeves', and 'gunepoude 1 pou'ds weight', was the additional phrase 'al the other smal ware 40s'. The rest of Allen's inventory included a nether shop with further dried fruits, and groceries. Some of his clothing was noted as being old, and the total of the whole inventory was £113.

The inventory of Edward Highton,<sup>523</sup> silk weaver of Coventry in 1605, was in complete contrast to the previous one. It was organised and detailed from the wares, through the equipment and right down to the doors, locks and keys, the twenty-three panes of glass in the work house, and a 2d. toasting iron. One and a half gross of Round lace at £2.12s. was the most valuable commodity, and indeed his most valuable possession. He also had white and blue and white and black laces in broad and narrow versions, together with threepenny-broad and twopenny-broad ribbons. His ready-made stock consisted of laces, garters, girdles and points. This brought his wares up to the sum of £5.16s.3d. out of the inventory total of £11.10s.0d.

## 1630-1660

Unfortunately continuity faltered in the Midlands sample at this point, and the next inventory was thirty years later. It would be interesting to know how George Banister<sup>524</sup> described his shop in 1636. Chief among his wares were 205 pairs of gloves, ranging in price from 3d. to 5s.6d a pair, followed by coifs, fans, muffs, hoods, masks, and five black lace handkerchiefs at 17s. There were also caul, bands and bandstrings, girdles and garters, purses and points, together with toys, rings and bracelets; this was a highly fashion conscious shop for a specialist market. A parcel of pins and a parcel of thread for a few shillings each came before the recording of scant quantities of Holland, scotchcloth and cambric. The inventory concluded with six sizes of ribboning totalling about £7, and a complete section on bonelace, which consisted of fourteen entries priced from 2½d. to 2s.6d.a yard. The total shop wares

---

<sup>523</sup> HAIGHTON Edward, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Silk weaver, LJRO: 1605 Highton.

<sup>524</sup> BANISTER George, of Solihull, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1636/7 Banister.

were valued at £62.2s.2d. This was certainly the first inventory for the Midlands sample to have a stock primarily concerned with ready-made goods, and it was particularly unfortunate that there were no others in the region at that date with which to compare it. The Cumbrian sample had no inventories for this period either, but a brief comparison with two Lancashire merchants in the 1630s, Radley<sup>525</sup> of Manchester and Hodgson<sup>526</sup> of Huyton, showed that their shops were busy with mercery but only had a small supply of ready-made garments or accessories. Even in Hampshire, traditionally believed to be more fashion conscious and progressive than northerly counties, Foster<sup>527</sup> of Andover and John Janbernis<sup>528</sup> [no town] had only an undistinguished selection of stockings, caps, coifs and girdles in 1630 and 1638.

## 1660-1670

With this interesting development in mind, it was again frustrating that a further twenty-three years elapsed before the inventory of another mercer, Richard Smallbroke<sup>529</sup> of Birmingham, was available. Additionally provoking was the fact that his goods were summarised as:

Wares and Merchandizes of all sorts belonging to his trade  
with his horses and Corne .....99 09 06

The inventory total was £2,159, of which £1,000 was in bond and book debts. The appraisers were Thomas Smallbroke and a George Fentham, mercer of Birmingham – in all probability the same George Fentham who appraised the goods of Edward Freeman<sup>530</sup> of Birmingham in 1671, and whose own mercery wares would be appraised in 1687. Setting aside the disappointment of Smallbroke's inventory, and the one belonging to Francis Coling<sup>531</sup> of Coventry, whose 16 totally anonymous parcels of shop wares added up to £562.16s.2d., I was fortunate in finding five documents for the period 1663-1668.

---

<sup>525</sup> RADLEY Stephen, of Manchester, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1630 Stephen Radley.

<sup>526</sup> HODGSON James, of Huyton, Lancashire. LRO: WCW 1633 James Hodgson.

<sup>527</sup> FOSTER Peter, of Andover, Hampshire. Haberdasher, 1630 HRO: 1630 A40/2.

<sup>528</sup> JANBERNIS John, [no place], HRO: 1638 Ad.120.

<sup>529</sup> SMALBROKE Richard, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. 1660, PRO PROB4 18742.

<sup>530</sup> FREEMAN Edward, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1671 Freeman.

<sup>531</sup> COLING Francis, of Coventry, Warwickshire. 1669 PRO: PROB4 9501.

John Donaldson,<sup>532</sup> a chapman of Ashby de la Zouche, carried about 500 yards of fabric in his stock. These were mostly the basic cloths – Holland, cambric, calico and a little blue linen - but Scotscloth predominated. Seventeen entries were noted of bundles, or ‘peeces,’ of Scotscloth. Where measurements were given lengths were between four and twelve yards:

It. foure peeces more of Scotts Cloath cont’ forty yds	02 06 08
--	----------

Donaldson’s haberdashery was surprisingly minimal:

It. One dozen of Pynnes	00 05 00
It. two peices of Inkle	00 01 00
It. six dozen of Cotten Ribbond	00 04 00

and his only other commodity was tobacco, of which he had thirty-two pounds weight worth £3.0s.4d.

Joseph Dewes,<sup>533</sup> who died in 1663, supplied the small village of Alcester and its environs in Warwickshire with mixed mercery goods. Stuff and cloth in his inventory totalled £76 with a further £13 for Holland and linen. His haberdashery wares, which included buttons, ribbon, silk, pins and thread, came to £15. Groceries added a further £9 and the only ready-made accessories were stockings, included by his appraisers in the haberdashery list. Dewes’ shop wares added up to £114, a similar sum to the £108.18s value placed on the wares of John Johnson,<sup>534</sup> also a mercer of Alcester, five years later. Sadly, here the entire stock was merged into one entry, although it shows that he sold grocery, haberdashery, saltery, linen and silk wares.

In this same period the goods of Leicester mercer Nemiah Brokesby<sup>535</sup> were inventoried by men who were, presumably relatives: Obediah Brokesby, a gentleman, and John Brokesby, also a mercer. Although there was a little more detail than in the inventory of John Johnson of Alcester, it was tantalisingly imprecise. The first entry

---

<sup>532</sup> DONALDSON John, of Ashby De la Zouch, Leicestershire. Chapman, 1663 LRO Leics: PRI/61/97.

<sup>533</sup> DEWES Joseph, of Alcester, Warwickshire. Mercer, 1663 HWRO: Box 796/376.

<sup>534</sup> JOHNSON John, of Alcester, Warwickshire. Mercer, 1668 HWRO: Box 801/1006.

<sup>535</sup> BROKESBY Nemiah, of Leicester. Mercer, 1663 LRO Leics: PRI/62/54.

of £54 was for the silks, silk and silver lace, and ribboning. Cotton ribbon followed, and 'Buttons in Sorts...£8. 5s. 0d.', then six entries later 'in Haberdashers waire...£40 0s.0d.' The haberdashery added up to a really substantial £104.15s., not much less than the total value of cloth, £152, of which various Stuffs accounted for £84. It is not evident if the 'haberdashers waire' included some ready-made goods, but the inventory of John Almey<sup>536</sup> of Lutterworth was more helpful in that respect. Another mercer, Almey's inventory of 1665 totalled £169.19s.0d, and had haberdashery valued at a little less than £38. Of that sum £3.14s.7d was attributed to stockings, two shillings to collars and belly pieces, and £1.18s.6d to bodices. These were the only ready-made items in his stock.

The first impression given by Almey's inventory was of a muddle of goods, but closer inspection shows that wares were roughly grouped in sections with collections of fabrics between them. It began with a good selection of grocery and saltery wares, tobacco, paper, and of the cheaper – perhaps more frequently bought – odds and ends, such as knitting pins, whipcord, black and brown thread, cotton ribbon, leather points and leather laces, inkles, bindings, whited thread and crewel. Some heavy canvas and harden cloths were followed by a selection of the better quality cloths, then the ready-made collars, belly-pieces and stockings. Five varieties of button were itemised: coat, breast, thread, leather, and buttons & loops, together with some which appear expensive at '2 gross of lace and buttens...03 16 00'. Then there was silk galloon and 'ordinary' galloon, ferrit and taffeta ribbon, and three sorts of lace, and finally odds and ends such as horse bells, hops, pitch, flax and whalebone. While it might be fanciful to see in this somewhat simplified version of the inventory the approximate layout of Almey's shop, it did indicate the hierarchy of wares. The black and brown thread and cheaper ribbons were found with the working-mans' leather laces and points. Inkles, whited thread and crewels appeared with the practical bindings, wick yarn, canvas and brown paper, and not among the ferrit ribbons and galloons. This inventory layout was not particularly unusual, yet it was useful to see the items in their hierarchical positions, not subsumed into their genre.

---

<sup>536</sup> ALMEY John, of Lutterworth, Leicestershire. Mercer, 1666 LRO Leics: PR/1/65.

## 1670-1680

Moving forward into the next decade, appropriate Midlands inventories were available for the years 1670, 1671, 1673 and 1676. Margery Hanslapp,<sup>537</sup> a widow from the village of Southam in Warwickshire, lived comfortably above and behind her shop, brewed and kept wares in the cellar beneath, and when she died in April there was still a supply of coal in the outhouse. The inventory total was just over £366 of which:

Goods in the shopp and Cellar Underneath the shopp as they were particularly apprizd & Vallued att ...238 17 05.

The inventory for the following year, that of Edward Freeman,<sup>538</sup> of Birmingham, was a little more helpful in that it identified ‘a p'cell of mercery goods in the howss shopp and sellers’ but sadly gave no detail despite its high valuation of £ 401.9s. For the same year, 1671, and similarly imprecise, the inventory of mercer John Chamberlain<sup>539</sup> of Atherston noted only ‘wares in the shop and in the warehouse appraised to £494 12 06.’ By complete contrast, in 1673 the entire stock of Abraham Beardsley,<sup>540</sup> a petty chapman from Ashby de la Zouch, was recorded in great detail. His small pieces of narrow ribbon, two pieces of lace, two pairs of gloves, some inkle and beads totalled 8s.10d. Nine pieces of linen cloth valued at £2.15s. completed his wares.

From the same small town and in the same year Elizabeth Seagrave<sup>541</sup> had interesting and varied shop goods that totalled £40.8s. There were twenty different cloths, valued altogether at just less than £23, including Burton Carsey, Shrewsbury Cloth and Kidderminsters; the Burton jersey was, at £3.12s.6d., the most valuable item in the inventory, and at 2s 6d. it was just two pence per yard less than the most expensive commodity – an unqualified Cloth. Haberdashery added up to £3.3s.4d and included, together with the usual threads and bindings: ‘severall parcells of old fashioned laces

---

<sup>537</sup> HANSLAPP Margery, of Southam, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1670 Hanslapp.

<sup>538</sup> FREEMAN Edward, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. LJRO 1671 Freeman.

<sup>539</sup> CHAMBERLYN John, of Atherston, Staffordshire. Mercer, 1671 PRO: PROB4 2392.

<sup>540</sup> BEARDSLEY Abraham, of Ashby-de-la Zouch, Leicestershire. Petty chapman, 1673 LRO Leics: PR/I/74/101.

<sup>541</sup> SEAGRAVE Elizabeth, of Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire. 1673 LRO Leics: PR/I/74/122.

& Galloomes... 00 13 04'; breast buttons; gimp coat and breast buttons; and a parcel of silk buttons valued at £1. In the ready-made accessories were 15 pairs of 16d. stockings, two bongraces – which by that date would probably have been a broad brimmed hat rather than a forehead cloth<sup>542</sup> – and three pairs of Trowses. This most unusual entry might have referred to Trowse, identified by the OED as a knee-length garment, to the lower edge of which stockings were attached, the fore runners of drawers or knee breeches, or to Trousers defined by the OED as:

a loose fitting garment of cloth covering the loins and legs to the ankles (Also a pair of t.) 1681.

Ready-made clothing would be aimed for the average sized customer, and ankle-length trousers for a medium sized man would require two yards of material. Two yards of a cheap but sturdy fabric such as a calico could cost 1s 6d, while fastenings, thread and making-up charges might add a similar amount. Thus the 3s valuation placed on the 'Trowses' seems a most likely match for the ankle-length garment.

The final example of the 1670s was that of Julius Billers<sup>543</sup> a mercer, whose enormous inventory demonstrated the variety of the mercery wares available, not just in London and its environs, but also elsewhere in the country. Identified in the inventory superscript as an Alderman, late of the City of Coventry, Mr. Billers apparently possessed only £20 worth of clothing when he died in 1676, and a number of items among his domestic possessions were described as 'old', yet the inventory total was an amazing £2,083.11s. 4d., with the haberdashery wares valued at over £470.<sup>544</sup> In pride of place at the beginning of the trade part of the inventory were the ribbons that alone were worth £148.19s.9d, taffeta ribbons at £81 being the largest variety in terms of value, reflecting the rise in popularity of ribbons for decoration particularly of men's wear during the 1660s and 1670s. Charles II had returned from exile in the Netherlands in 1660 with a new fashion:

---

<sup>542</sup> 1606 A broad brimmed hat. O.E.D, (1980).

<sup>543</sup> BILLERS Julius, of Coventry, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1676 Billers. My thanks to Dr. Nancy Cox for the use of her transcription of this huge inventory.

<sup>544</sup> Sadly, parts of the document are badly deteriorated and illegible. A complete transcription would have produced even greater totals

very short, boxy doublet which was barely waist-length, and breeches with very wide legs...The whole outfit was covered in a profusion of ribbon bows. The fine linen shirt, with deep bands of lace at neck and wrists, frothed out at the waist.<sup>545</sup>

There is not often an opportunity in the early modern period of history to date the introductions of styles with such precision. With the inauguration of a fashion incorporating an abundance of ribbons and other surface decoration in 1660, followed six years later by the introduction of a style that relied on line and less clutter, the king had a profound influence on the clothing of the country. Historians can benefit from both the exactitude of the dating, giving a time span to a fashion, and from the styles involved, which comprise particularly obvious haberdashery items to search for in the inventories of that time.

Billers' lace and laces, some of them tagged for use as points, added up to £112.4s.3d. Indeed the ribbons and laces sections both totalled more than the clothes section, even though he had a wide selection of ready-made clothes and accessories. The clothes included waistcoats for men, youths and children, fustian and dimity trousers, drawers, and children's coats. Accessories included hoods, caps, coifs and head rolls, collars, neckcloths, whisks, bodies, stomachers, gown rolls, belts and girdles – including ministers' girdles – stockings and hose, muffs, scarves and gloves. There was also a single entry for a 'Gentlewo: Mourneing Gowne ...14s.' and another for a dozen pairs of child's shoes. Many of the items were stocked in a range of sizes, types or materials. Hoods for example, were noted as: child's coloured sarsnett, old fashioned, old tufted, girls' black ducape, and large, and they were variously made of sarsnet, Crown ducape, India taffety, old love, lutestring, and alamode. Braid, threads, sewing silks, and weaving silks in individual quantities of warp and woof, totalled £92; crewel tape and caddis added a further £14, and the buttons came to £17.11s.4d. Buttons were (and are) usually intended for a particular place and function on a garment, and the buttons in this inventory were mostly itemised by both eventual position and by material of manufacture. Billers stocked both breast- and coat-buttons made of thread, gold, gimp, silk, silk and gold, and silver and gold. He also had 'London' coat and breast buttons, and a group of three sorts of Scotch button: whited thread, coloured silk, and silver and gold scotch buttons. There were some

---

<sup>545</sup> Tarrant, Naomi, *The Development of Costume*, (Edinburgh and London: 1996), p.93.

‘old hair’ and some ‘old fashion’ coat and cloak buttons, together with an entry for coat buttons recorded as Royal Oak silk, and feather and flanders silk. The latter sort - 27 gross at about 1½d. each, was the largest button entry at £3.7s.6d. The most expensive were some unspecified coat buttons at 6d each, while the most interesting entry was that for silver and gold vest buttons at 5¼d. each. The king had introduced the fashion of the ‘virile vest’ to the Royal Court in October 1666; less than ten years later, in Billers’ inventory from a middling town in the Midlands, there were buttons for such a garment offered for public purchase. From court to country in nine seasons would appear to be quite a rapid adoption of a fashion, while the notable quantity of Billers’ ribbons demonstrated the influence of the previous fashion.

This inventory showed that not only were the appraisers aware of the shifting popularity of items and styles, but how Billers himself had moved his stock forward with the changing times and was offering up-to-date goods to his customers. An ‘old alamode hood’ at 2s. made reference to the age of the garment and valued it in comparison with other, presumably new, alamode hoods at 3s.4d., but the note of ‘12 old fashion [hoods] & bods & Quoifes’ at only 3d. per item surely referred to out of date style. Similar note was made of ‘old fashion’ masks, muffs, boot hose, and the cloak and coat buttons noted above. In the case of the buttons, the hose and the masks, as there were valuations made for other cloak and coat buttons, for boot hose and for ‘vizerd masks’ at higher prices than those with the ‘old’ appellation, it can be assumed that those particular examples were behind the fashion. The reference to old fashioned muffs is not as straightforward. There was one other entry for muffs in the inventory without the ‘old’ qualification, but it appeared among the gloves, and was recorded as: ‘17 pr thrid Muffs at 3d.’, so was an alternative name for mittens. However, since muffs have never entirely left the scene as clothing accessories, the 2 ‘old fashioned Muffes’ at 1s 6d. each must also have been termed ‘old’ in reference to the style of those particular items, and not to muffs *per se*. An entry for buttons which detailed: ‘a p’cell of fashion silver & Gold & silk Coats and Breasts at 10s all xs.’ most probably accidentally omitted the word ‘old,’ as ten shillings would be the right value for a poor collection of such wares. While there were a number of further references to old goods, such as kids, shammy and black gloves, and a number of



fabrics, the appraisers also noted some ‘new’ items (New cloth Buckram,<sup>546</sup> for example) and while old black satin caps were only valued at 12d per dozen, ‘New bla’ Satten Capps’ were worth 30d each.

A small number of gewgaws were included towards the end of the extensive selection of expensive silks such as pendants and bobs, together with 18 black glass necklaces at 1d., and 5 dozen pearl necklaces at 1½d. each. Three ivory fans, a mourning fan and a child’s ivory fan totalled 7s. Five canes with ivory heads were valued as an item at £1, the single cane with a pewter head was worth 16d, and six ordinary canes totalled 1s. The Silver and Gold Threads section was not extensive, but there were three qualities of silver thread, from 3s.6d to 4s.4d per ounce, and three of gold thread, from 4s.6d to 5s.6d. Skeins of silver and of gold were 3s.6d. and 4s.6d. respectively, while silver pearl, frost pearl and alchemy were 4s., 2s.4d, and 8d. per ounce but no description is given of the form they were in. ‘Alchemy’<sup>547</sup> oes and spangles’, the tiny decorative shapes with small holes through which thread could pass to sew them onto garments, were also valued at 8d.per ounce and Billers possessed 5s. worth. A set of silver buckles at 6s, and six entries concerned with paper rounded off that part of the inventory.

Following the silver and gold threads was a section entitled ‘Haberdash Wares,’ which was useful for the observation of what contemporary appraisers classed as haberdashery. However, as noted in Chapter 2., such titling was confusing in that it was not possible to see any difference between the goods included under that heading, and those that appeared to fall into the same category yet were found elsewhere in the inventory. Included in the haberdashery section of Billers’ inventory were the threads that could be regarded as being for practical sewing: the black and brown, Coventry, whited, dutch, nuns, and outnall threads, and one called ‘home’.<sup>548</sup> There were a

---

<sup>546</sup> The entry *New Cloth Buckrume*, presents an interesting query – what was new about it, a new variety of buckram, or a new bundle? Buckram was established as a coarse linen or cloth stiffened with gum or paste from at least 1436 (OED: 1980). At thirty-six yards and a quarter the bundle seems to have been started already, but that is making the supposition that fresh supplies start off in whole quantities.

<sup>547</sup> A composition, mainly of brass, imitating gold, ‘alchemy gold.’ Variant spellings: allcomy, alcomy. (2) (OED: 1980).

<sup>548</sup> At 3s.3d. per doz this seems cheap (‘black and brown’ was more than £1 per doz), it could be Holmes, Holland, home-spun, or other.

number of tapes and filleting, including the less common ‘hemming tape’ and French tape. Small metal wares included pins (though only three or four sorts), clasps and keepers, thimbles, nails, hooks and eyes, pack needles and eighteen pairs of French scissors at 5d. each. Additionally there were at least 328 combs of several sorts - wood, horn, ivory, box wood, and bone - and comb cases, spectacles and spectacle cases, with brushes for hats, shoes and weavers and to accompany combs. Rings and curtain rings, assorted thread laces, paper, books and a few other odds and ends completed the Haberdash section of the inventory, which was followed by Linen Drapery.

### 1680-1690

The 1680s were almost over-represented in the Warwickshire collection, yet there was only one example from Leicestershire – that of William Barrodel.<sup>549</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 3., the appraisers first qualified Barrodel as a Mercer in the superscript, but deleted that and replaced it with Chandler. There was indeed a Candle house in which the equipment, tallow and candles added up to £31.10s.6d., (twice the value of his house contents). However, the mixed mercery goods, the groceries, haberdashery, a little fabric, odds and ends, and shop credits, totalled £69, more than twice the chandlery value, a reminder that trade titles could be at odds with the shop contents. Galloon, silk ribbon and buttons, all three entries at around £2.10s., were somewhat surprisingly the largest haberdashery entries, equalled by calico and by soap, and exceeded only by sugar at £7.

Warwick silk weaver, Richard Bird,<sup>550</sup> had fringes and thread, together with buttons of silk, silver and gimp worth £12.13s.11d., for sale in his shop in 1681, in which the total wares were valued at £87.16s. In the following year the inventory of Richard Coling,<sup>551</sup> which totalled £236.19s.1½d, recorded a thriving mercery business with a variety of wares and plenty of choice. In his Coventry shop, with its cellar and warehouse, he had a quantity of tobacco in various stages of preparation – leaf, cut, roll, stalks and dust - plus equipment, all of which added up to £30, and was indicated by the shop’s sign or free standing figure of a Black Boy, one of the symbols most

---

<sup>549</sup> BARRODEL William, of Belton, Leicestershire. Chandler, 1680 LRO Leics: PR/I/82/224.

<sup>550</sup> BIRD Richard, of Warwick. Silkweaver. 1681 PRO: PROB4 3373.

<sup>551</sup> COLING Richard, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Mercer, LJRO: 1682 Richard Coleinge

frequently used for a tobacconist and valued here at 5s. Although Coling only had soap and brown sugar of the grocery and saltery type of commodities, there was a wide range of accessories, haberdashery and fabrics, of which there were ninety-nine entries encompassing sixty-eight different fabric titles. Just as in the inventory for Barrodel, ribbons featured largely in the more standard haberdashery items, with nineteen entries mostly of different varieties totalling £11.5s.3d, making almost fifty percent of the haberdashery total of £24.14s.6d. However, this was about the point at which the overall shape of men's clothing began to slim down and the excesses of decoration to be discarded.

Coling's clothing and ready-made goods totalled just over £19 and included all the usual caps, hoods, collars, sleeves, bodies, stockings and hose, together with a 19s. mantua, the new gown of the late 1670s and early 1680s, and two ribbon stomachers at 2s each – moderately expensive when compared with the ordinary ones valued at 8d. or 10d. The descriptor 'new' occurred only once in 'new cotes buttons,' yet despite the presence of 'old' four times - old scarves, old taffeties (ribbons), old gimp coat buttons, and old thread - the impression of this inventory is that of a flourishing business. Appropriately placed between mantua pins and muffs was an interesting entry concerning: '4 Haire towers...00 02 00'. A Tower was the name given to the high *commode* or headdress worn in the reigns of William III and Anne, from 1689 through to 1714, so would seem to be unlikely stock for a Coventry mercer in 1686. However, more in keeping with the date of this inventory, Randle Holme in his *Academy of Armoury* described, in 1680, a mode of hairdressing he dated from 1674 called a *taure*, a heavy, curled forehead piece reminiscent of a bull's head, hence the French title.<sup>552</sup>

Richard Lynell<sup>553</sup> of Stafford, a mercer according to his will of 1683, had little haberdashery among his stock of fabric, itself worth over £300. Ribbons, ferrit and buttons were taken together and only totalled £12. The next year John Moore<sup>554</sup>a

---

<sup>552</sup> Holme, Randle (1688), hair dressing illustration No.10, quoted in *Costume of England*, Fairholt, F.W., Vol. I, Revised edition, (1885), p.208.

<sup>553</sup> LYNELL Richard, [of Stafford, in will], Staffordshire. [Mercer, in will] November 1683 LJRO: 1683/Lynell.

<sup>554</sup> MOORE John, of Uttoxeter, Staffordshire. Chapman. LJRO: 1684 Moore.

chapman of Stafford, had a comparatively large quantity of assorted inkles, £2.5s.10d out of an inventory total of £18. Hooks and eyes were added together with buttons for a valuation of 10s., while the entry for: 'silke laces & thrid laces & bandpoynts and ledder lace ...00 15 04' indicated that the practice of tying garments together had not yet been superseded. In 1685 the goods of Henry Haslehurst<sup>555</sup> of Eckington were grouped together by his appraisers and out of the shop total of £93.18s. the silk, buttons, thread, inkle, tape, stockings, bodies and 'other haberdasher ware' came to £21.18s.4d. While more detail would have been useful, it was interesting to note the terminology, with small clothes still being included with the haberdashery. In the other inventory of this date in the Midlands sample, a Birmingham haberdasher using the title in its hatting connotation had not a single item of 'haberdashery.' Harrison<sup>556</sup> had in his ware chamber:

Hatts, glew, gum', wooll, Camells haire, [...and] odd things belonging  
to the Trade of a haberdasher .....94 18 01

and in the shop:

Hatts of all sorts, Hatt bands, plush Mountheer capps Beaver haire fur  
and other things belonging to sayd trade .....124 10 01

The last inventory for the 1680s was interesting more for the social connections than the contents. As seen in the previous decade a George Fentham had appraised the wares of Richard Smallbroke and Edward Freeman of Birmingham. In 1657 George Fentham Junior<sup>557</sup> of Birmingham had his goods valued by Thomas Fentham,<sup>558</sup> a mercer also of Birmingham. Five years later Thomas Fentham died and his own tiny quantity of goods were appraised.

---

<sup>555</sup> HASLEHURST Henry, of Eckington, Worcestershire. LJRO: 1685 Haslehurst.

<sup>556</sup> HARRISON Richard, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. Haberdasher. 1685 PRO: PROB4 12833.

<sup>557</sup> FENTHAM George, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. LJRO 1687 Fentham.

<sup>558</sup> FENTHAM Thomas, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. LJRO 1692 Fentham.

## 1690-1700

An unexpected source of haberdashery reference in the 1690s occurred in the inventory of Edward Healey,<sup>559</sup> of Atherstone in Warwickshire, a small town well known for its hatting trade from at least the late seventeenth century.<sup>560</sup> Among the hooks, hinges, shovels, candlesticks and lanthorns of his ironmongery wares, Healey had a few groceries and spices: raisins, sugar, caraway seed, mace, cinnamon and nutmeg. In addition he stocked inkle, laces, thread, buttons and needles, and, following a list of 8 different sizes of nails, a parcel of pins. The haberdashery only totalled 15s., but its presence was an example of the way the goods were perceived as being everyday necessities, and worth stocking as a saleable commodity.

William Bentley,<sup>561</sup> a mercer of Leicester had about £200 worth of fabric when his inventory was drawn up in 1696. Haberdashery goods totalled just over £66, of which ribbons and galloons were valued at nearly £18 and buttons at £14 for six varieties. Hoods and masks were the only made-up accessories, and there were only £2 worth of those. Several braids, buttons and thread in this inventory were recorded as being gold and silver.

## 1700-1710

The first three documents of the Midlands sample for the eighteenth century were sizeable. Haberdashery was well represented in the inventories of Samuel Ingram<sup>562</sup> of Warwick, Samuel Goadby<sup>563</sup> of Leicester, both mercers, and Caleb Brotherhood<sup>564</sup> of Thornton in Leicestershire. All three shopkeepers stocked a good selection of groceries and fabrics. Ingram had clothing and accessories worth £13.3s, excluding his stock of woollen and worsted hose valued at over £30. The other two inventories had few ready-made items, but all had substantial quantities of threads and silks, with the smallest shop, that of Samuel Goadby, having threads as the largest

---

<sup>559</sup> HARRISON Richard, of Birmingham, Warwickshire. Haberdasher. 1685 PRO: PROB4 12833.

<sup>560</sup> Vero, Judy and Ian Beesley, *Warwickshire Hatters*, (Halifax: 1989). Local squire and hat dealer Abraham Bracebridge also died in 1694. His inventory included Hats in the Hat chamber worth £380.19s.10d. WRO: CR 258 Bracebridge Papers.

<sup>561</sup> BENTLEY William, of Leicester. Mercer, 1696 LRO Leics: PRI/101/14.

<sup>562</sup> INGRAM Samuel, Warwick, Warwickshire. Mercer. 1700/1 PRO: PROB 4 22479.

<sup>563</sup> GOADBY Samuel, of Ibstock, Leicestershire. Mercer, 11/1705 LRO Leics: PRI/112/150.

<sup>564</sup> BROTHERHOOD Caleb, of Thornton, Leicestershire. 1705 LRO Leics: PRI/112/148.

section in his stock. The most noticeable development was in the variety of buttons offered for sale by Caleb Brotherhood, who had thirty-two entries for buttons, totalling £9.10s. As indicated by the comparatively low sum, they were predominantly the more ordinary types and sizes of buttons – gimp, hair, mohair or thread – for use on breast or coat. The variety of price for each sort indicated differences in size or style. However, Ingram, with only eighteen button entries adding up to £16.17s.4d, had some unusual and some expensive ones in stock. ‘Berry buttons’,<sup>565</sup> for example, were cheap at 5s. (although the quantity is not given) while silver buttons at £2.18s and ‘fifteen Grose of fine Moehair buttons’ were comparatively dear at £3. He also had ‘five grose of Tipt Buttons’ valued at ten shillings, an interesting entry not yet encountered elsewhere. It could mean tipped, in the sense of finished off in some manner, or an abbreviation for tippet, a garment or strip of cloth worn about the neck, for which a button fastening would be plausible, if uncommon. The OED also has the word *tipe or type*, between 1530 and 1708, meaning a small cupola or dome.

Caleb Brotherhood was undoubtedly a prosperous merchant. His purse and apparel were recorded at £40, and although his house contents were only valued at £37 he did have a clock worth £3, and possessions in a New Chamber. He also kept two horses. His wealth was mainly evident in his merchandise, for not only did he have £141 worth of goods in the Thornton shop, plus tobacco and other goods worth £290 in warehouses, and hemp with flax valued at £23 in the ‘Hecklin Shop’, he also had another shop at Bugworth (now Bagworth) where there were goods to the value of £24. Thornton and Bagworth were both small villages, only 1½ miles apart, and it was only a further 4½ miles to Ibstock where Samuel Goadby was selling similar wares, albeit in smaller quantities. Furthermore the town of Leicester itself was only 9 miles away. Nevertheless it is evident from the quantity and type of grocery wares available that these were thriving establishments; none of the goods, grocery or mercery, were described as being old, old fashioned or damaged. The proximity of these flourishing shops to each other, and in particular the two that were owned by the same person who evidently did not consider either business a threat to the viability of

---

<sup>565</sup> Not a common entry, but found also in: HAW John of Berkswell, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1712/Haw, where again the value is unclear.

the other, clearly demonstrate considerable demand for the smallwares that made a quarter or more of the total stock.

## 1710-1720

It was unfortunate that the appraisers for the final inventory in the Midlands sample, John Haw of Berkswell<sup>566</sup> in Warwickshire, saw fit to catalogue his wares in groups of often disparate items. The price of the berry buttons, the beggars inkle, and the silk and cotton handkerchiefs cannot be isolated, the latter being of particular regret since, unlike the Cumbrian inventories, handkerchiefs did not appear frequently in the Midlands group. It can be said, however, that Haw had forty-two entries classed as haberdashery of which there were four sorts of button, five types of thread, and three of inkle, together with the usual tapes, pins, clasps and keepers, ribbons and braids. Apart from the handkerchiefs the ready-made items were stockings, gloves, and children's shoes.

While not all the inventories in the Midlands sample contained entries for clothing accessories, many of those that did had extensive lists, and the unexpectedly comprehensive one in 1636 showed that such items had reached the public domain early in the century. There were also records of items that might be expected only in London for that date, masks for example and in 1682 a mantua, the new gown of the late seventeenth century. This named style, together with terminology which indicated that the appraisers were familiar enough with current style to make an critical note of out of date items, showed that fashion was not just for London and the aristocracy, as has traditionally been suggested. At the conclusion of this section it is worth remarking that slight decrease in the availability of haberdashery found in the Cumbrian sample in the early 1700s was not echoed in the midland counties during the period covered by this study. The inventories of Billers for example in 1676 and Brotherhood at the turn of the century, indicated that a plentiful choice of haberdashery wares were certainly available in Warwickshire and Leicestershire in the second half of the seventeenth century and on into the eighteenth.

---

<sup>566</sup> HAW John, of Berkswell, Warwickshire. LJRO: 1712 Haw.

## Hampshire and West Sussex

Moving south to the Hampshire and West Sussex section of this investigation, Hampshire was represented by 53 inventories running from 1581 to 1694 in a fairly even flow, and with just five examples from 1720-1769. West Sussex had appropriate inventories available from 1632 and, contrary to the accepted norm of many counties, in quantity up to 1769.

### 1580-1590

The first six Hampshire inventories covered the period 1581-1587; three were based in Winchester, and the others were traders in Southampton, Portsmouth and Newport on the Isle of Wight – recognised as part of Hampshire- although two of them were only useful for their personal clothing details. Edward White<sup>567</sup> was a mercer in Winchester, and the detailed list of his apparel gave an indication of just how lucrative the business could be. There were five gowns, velvet or fur trimmed – albeit only coney- the scarlet one valued at £6.13s.4d., two cloaks, three jerkins, three doublets, including one of satin, two coats, one of which had silk fringing, two pairs of hose, the best being made of camlet guarded with velvet, two pairs of stockings, two caps and a hat. The total was over £31, several years' wages for an agricultural labourer. Although he did have a couple of land and building leases, White was not making his main money from those; his shop goods were extensive, particularly in the areas of fabric and haberdashery, the latter accounting for just under £200 of a shop total of £529.

Lace and fringe were the largest items in White's shop, both in quantity and value, being worth £163. Threads and ribbons totalled about £5 each, silk and thread points and assorted inkles were both worth less than £2. There were only 19s.6d worth of pins, less than might be anticipated for a period that still relied heavily on pinning clothes in place, but more buttons than expected, valued at £4.14s. including three dozen garnishes of silver and gold buttons worth 18s. and handkerchief buttons, the latter being the earliest reference in the sample. There were a few ready-made items

---

<sup>567</sup> WHITE Edward, of Winchester. Mercer, 1581 HRO: 1581 B119/1-2.



such as gloves, French garters, boot hose, handkerchiefs, and long and short shirt strings. Garments included kersey hose, children's shirts and, in another early reference, 20 'shirts of several prices' totalling £2.2s.8d.

The following year the inventory of a Southampton draper provided evidence of household wealth,<sup>568</sup> while in 1583 the inventory of John Twice<sup>569</sup> shows the wares that were carried by a Winchester grocer. Twice's grocery and apothecary wares added up to a little over £55; at £26 the haberdashery was worth nearly half that amount. The appraisal was helpfully broken down into 'Habberdashe warese of silke' and 'Habberdashe wares of all sortes'. Silk wares included: girdling and pointing ribbons, 1d and 2d broad silk lace, black, white and Coventry threads, and coloured sewing silk. Listed under the other heading were: statute, parchment and crewel lace, needles and thimbles, gartering, check laces, copper twist, red and black fringes and 'other haberdashery wares'. Although quantities were not noted in this inventory, making prices difficult to assess, the overall impression was of a shop catering for the well off. The haberdashery was more on the pretty than the practical side, and among the apothecary drugs and oils were ready prepared ointments and plasters. In the grocery department the goods were of the ready-made sugar biscuits, suckets, marmalade and comfits variety, with plenty of dried fruits and spices, and only a little basic butter and cheese.

If the previous inventory was redolent of a pleasant afternoon's rather refined shopping, then the next, that of John Beald<sup>570</sup> of Portsmouth, was of an immensely practical, amazingly well stocked, all purpose store. Mercery in plenty, and also ironmongery and chandlery, and the haberdashery added up to £47 out of the shop total of £157. The prices and quantities of individual items seemed low, but the number of items was high. There were, for example, twenty-five entries for different laces but apart from the first three:

vij pounce and v ounces of silke lace at xxij s the ounce...	08 00 06
ij pounce of ferratt silke frengge....	01 00 00

---

<sup>568</sup> DINGLER Thomas, of Southampton, Hampshire. Draper, HRO: 1582 B26/2.

<sup>569</sup> TWICE John, of Winchester, Hampshire. Grocer, HRO: 1583.

<sup>570</sup> BEALD John, of Portsmouth, Hampshire. HRO: 1587 A08/1-2.

the remainder were in small quantities and worth only a few shillings.

Buttons at this stage were still being described more by material of manufacture or type than by their use, thus Beald had: great silk, small silk, braid silk, and the intriguingly named, double scotch, and bow. Points and laces were still much in evidence and he had eight different sorts. The selection of needles and pins was comprehensive. The pins included: small fours, fours, fives, sixes, Flemish sixes, Flemish eights, large, and great white pins; and there were needles, clouts (cloths) of needles, and knitting needles. The inventory does not identify the material used to make the knitting needles, the earliest in the Hampshire sample, although wood, bone, or brass were all possible. Priced at 1s. for half a pound, which seems quite weighty, and being grouped in with the small metal wares, drawn wire seems the most likely material. Beald's haberdashery wares also included clasps and keepers, shoe buckles, thimbles, rings, brooches and bracelet beads. He did not have many clothing accessories in the shop, just a few hose and stockings, gloves, caps, and two shirts, one of canvas, the other of Osnaburg – a coarse linen. It seems probable that a single garment in the stock was an example from which others could be made. Individual items of clothing recorded in other inventories appear to confirm this method of bespoke manufacture.<sup>571</sup>

## 1590-1600

The goods of haberdasher Hugh Denby<sup>572</sup> of Winchester, whose name appeared as an appraiser in the inventory of grocer Twice, were assessed in 1587 but unfortunately for this study, the valuation was given only as 'wares in the shop £20.' This was not a problem with the 1592 inventory of Jesse Glevins<sup>573</sup> of Newport, Isle of Wight, which stretched to several sheets, or with the next inventory, that of Romsey mercer William

---

<sup>571</sup> For example, a mantua in COLING Richard, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Mercer, LJRO: 1682 Coleinge, and a gentlewoman's mourning (or morning) gown in BILLERS Julius, of Coventry, Warwickshire. LJRO: Billers, 1676.

<sup>572</sup> DENBY Hugh, of Winchester, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1587 B 27/2.

<sup>573</sup> GLEVINS Jesse, of Newport, Isle of Wight, Hampshire. HRO: Newpt: 1592 A 045/1-2.

Windover,<sup>574</sup> whose goods took six men and two days to value. Seven appraisers were required for the last sixteenth century inventory in the Hampshire sample, that of Richard Emery<sup>575</sup> mercer and alderman of Winchester. Unfortunately those appraisers were also not as detailed with the haberdashery as with everything else, and after three entries for black, brown and white thread they summed up the remainder as ‘haberdash ware of all sorts by estimation £20,’ just as in the Denby document. They were, however, much more forthcoming with Alderman Emery’s clothing:

Ite' one Scarlett gowne and a velvett tippet	... £3
two blacke gwnes one faced with velvett and thother with blacke Conie.	£6
Ite' one newe cloke and another olde cloake	...£2
one Satten dublett one dublett of blacke rashe one Jerkin of blacke frizadow..	£1
Ite' iiij p'e of venations...	13s. 4d.

All of which was interesting both for its similarity to that of Edward White, six years previously, and for the evidence of the four pairs of Venetians.<sup>576</sup> The value of the latter, at a little over 3s. each, indicates that they were everyday wear rather than specifically for formal occasions.

Taking together the three more detailed documents of the late-sixteenth century, lace was undoubtedly the item stocked in the greatest quantity and with the highest value. Clothing and accessories came next, although none of these inventories had much in this line, then thread. Buttons and ribbons were roughly equal, followed by points, inkle, and small metal wares. The balance of Glevins’ shop might have changed had the £15 worth of ‘sondry wares Lately come from London’ already been added to his stock.

## 1600-1610

It appeared that in the early seventeenth century, Hampshire was well served by haberdashers of hats. The inventory taken in 1603 of the goods of Nicholas Smallpiece,<sup>577</sup> a Guildford haberdasher, itemised a large stock of four hundred and

---

<sup>574</sup> WINDOVER William, of Romsey, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1593 Ad 103.

<sup>575</sup> EMERY Richard, of Winchester, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1597 A 032/1-2.

<sup>576</sup> VENETIANS. Full breeches closed at the knee, either voluminous throughout or close fitting. Ashelford, Jane, *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*, (1988).

<sup>577</sup> SMALLPIECE Nicholas, of Guildford, Surrey. Haberdasher, HRO: 1601 B 51/3 [Included in Hampshire R O records due to county boundary changes].

eighty seven hats which added up to £52.16s.6d. Although some - the ‘shells’ – may not have been finished, there was no indication of a workshop or loose materials for such a job, reinforcing the image of the haberdasher as merchant rather than artisan. Unblocked and untrimmed hats could be packed closely together but finished goods would have required considerable storage and display space. Felts were specified, some trimmed or unlined, some lined with taffeta or velvet; they were ‘cullored, course cullored, and cipers black’. Several were mentioned as being for children but there were only two dozen felts for women, although the fashion for women wearing similar hats to men seems to have started sometime during the reign of Elizabeth I. The wealthy of both sexes had their hats mostly made of velvet, and later beaver hair, but the ‘middling sort’ wore felt, and a ‘hatted dame’ was noticed as an inferior personage to the higher orders in *The Revenger’s Tragedy* of 1607.<sup>578</sup> ‘Bands’ and ‘cipers bands’, as recorded in the Smallpiece inventory, were often made of fabric, sometimes cyprus<sup>579</sup> either in the form of a fine cloth of gold, or later as a light transparent black material. The memorial of Margaret Arneway, buried in St. Margaret’s Westminster in 1596, shows the method of rolling a swath of fabric round the base of the hat crown, and a cable hatband was mentioned in the 1599 play *Every Man out of his Humour* :

‘I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I hat..<sup>580</sup>

William Stanley (1)<sup>581</sup> trading in Alton in 1604 also had a large stock of hats, for women as well as men and children. His felts and hats were of ‘pollonian’ [Polish], ‘estridge’ [possibly ostrich] and ‘fyne’ wools. His workhouse housed wool, and ‘forms and working tools...belonging to the trade’, which were valued highly at a little over £35. In the following year, the inventory of Edward Martyn<sup>582</sup> of Winchester recorded him having many more than the 276 hats detailed, a considerable proportion

---

<sup>578</sup> Fairholt, F.W., *Costume of England*, Vol. I, Revised edition, (London: 1885), p.240.

<sup>579</sup> CYPRESS or CYPRES. OED/1980 ‘A name of textile fabrics originally brought from, or through, Cyprus a) Cloth of gold or the like. (b) 1603 A valuable satin called also ‘Satin of Cypres, satin Cypres’. (c) 1722 Cypres lawn, a light transparent material resembling cobweb lawn or crape.’

<sup>580</sup> Fairholt, *Costume of England*, Vol. I, Revised edition, (London: 1885), p.240.

<sup>581</sup> STANLEY William, of Alton, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1604 AD53/1-2.

<sup>582</sup> MARTYN Edward, of Winchester, Hampshire. Haberdasher. 1605 HRO: 1605 A58 /2.

of entries being unquantified. Many of the hats were faced and lined with sarcenet,<sup>583</sup> some were cuffed and faced with velvet, rich taffeta, and Spanish taffeta, or with 'taffetye of a corsten sorte'. Not only did he have the ubiquitous ordinary silk cypress bands but also 'treble bandes of silke syprese', 'platted sylke syprese bands imbroyded', 'cruell bandes of all collers', and 'feather bands'. There were Monmouth caps of different qualities, night caps and satin night caps. His own apparel, which contrasted sharply with the rich clothing of mercer Emery eight years before, included just one old hat, valued at 7d., and no venetians.

John Paice<sup>584</sup> of Winchester, who called himself a haberdasher in his will, and Luke Stevens,<sup>585</sup> a mercer of New Lymington, both stocked a basic quantity of haberdashery smallwares. Mixed in with the one hundred and twenty six other assorted mercery goods in his Winchester shop, John Paice had thirty three items of haberdashery adding up to a meagre £4.11s.2d., with further stocks of silks, white thread and fringing stored elsewhere. He can be seen as stocking the absolute minimum of haberdashery that might be expected of a small shop, and the rest of his goods followed the same pattern. Although Stevens had a well-stocked grocery area and slightly more of everything in the smallwares line, with a haberdashery total of £14.9s., the impression was of a reduction in all smallwares except thread and lace. Between them these last two merchants only had three types of button, five sorts of ribbon, and five of inkle. Hooks and eyes increased to three sorts: black, white and cloak, but ready-made accessories decreased to garters, girdles and stockings.

## 1610-1620

It was unfortunate that there was a gap of eight years before the next available group of five documents; however, they appeared to reverse the trend – if trend there had been. Daniel Castle<sup>586</sup> of Romsey, had clothing worth over £20 alongside his large selection of specialist fabrics: 90 pairs of stockings at £12, 26 pairs of boned bodices, and £3.4s worth of garters. He also had more gartering for sale than had appeared

---

<sup>583</sup> SARSENET OED/1980 (late ME) Origin perhaps from 'Saracen cloth'. 1463. A very fine and soft silk material later used especially for linings.

<sup>584</sup> PAICE John, of Winchester [Haberdasher in will], Hampshire. HRO: 1603 A40/1-2.

<sup>585</sup> STEVENS Luke, of New Lymington, Hampshire. Mercer.1608. HRO: 1609 A70/2.

<sup>586</sup> CASTLE Daniel, of Romsey, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1616 Ad8/2-8.

before. There were seventeen entries for thread, totalling £6, and four for lace making £4.8s. Ribbon stocks however were slight, just four cheap ones, and only two sorts of button, which, at a value of £2, was hardly higher than the points at £1.4s.11d. The following year John Wyatt's<sup>587</sup> Petersfield shop was mostly devoted to a wide range of fabric, with only £7 worth of clothing – mainly stockings, but with some coifs in both white and black – and a few shillings-worth of thread, ribbons, buttons and inkle, plus a couple of anonymous 'small wares' entries adding up to £2. It would not have been surprising if the March 1618 inventory of Robert Mayer,<sup>588</sup> a linen draper, had contained no haberdashery, but among his fabrics were 'Pines, poynts, laces, thrice, & other small wares' valued at £39.6s.6d., together with silk and silver lace at £42, and ribbons worth £17. He also stocked gloves and stockings, and had a suit of damask valued at £5, which may again have been a sample item for orders. Also in 1618 the wares of Nicholas Barnard,<sup>589</sup> haberdasher of hats in Andover, contained a single beaver hat among his many other hats and caps of lesser value. Hat prices were mostly between 1s. and 5s. but the beaver was valued at 10s.

In the October of the same year, 1618, appraisers recorded the wares of Thomas Manseck,<sup>590</sup> giving him the title of chapman. The OED describes a chapman as '1. a man who buys and sells; a merchant, trader, dealer. 2. An itinerant dealer; a hawker, a pedlar.' Manseck lived in Andover, and the layout of his house, with hall, buttery, low chamber, chamber over the shop, and chamber over the hall, indicates that his shop was an established one, and that he was not a peddler – or petty chapman. Some of his domestic possessions were 'old' and his apparel was only worth one pound, but out of an inventory total of £38.3s.9d, his wares were worth £24.3s.10d., and haberdashery and clothing accessories accounted for nearly half of that at £10.18s.0d. Having more to lose from poorly chosen or slow moving stock, the small-shop keeper would be particularly careful not to waste his resources, so his wares should give a good picture of those items which had the most appeal. Not unexpectedly ready-made items made up his most valuable stock with the usual girdles, garters, gloves, caps, coifs and waistcoats predominating. Surprisingly there were no stockings, but

---

<sup>587</sup> WYATT John, of Petersfield, Hampshire. HRO: 1617 A97/2.

<sup>588</sup> MAYER Robert, of Southampton, Hampshire. Linen draper, HRO: 1618B 39/2.

<sup>589</sup> BARNARD Nicholas, of Andover, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1618 Ad 03/1-2.

<sup>590</sup> MANSECK Thomas, of Andover, Hampshire. HRO 1618 Ad 50.

there were 5 satin masks at 1s. each and 16s.worth of falling bands, laced and not laced. Falling bands started only gradually to replace ruffs from around 1600, first with a high ruff at the back but low in the front like a collar, then with a wide collar supported at the back on a Piccadilly.

The vital decade was after 1610 when collars began to dominate, and ruffs were restricted to formal and legal dress...collars were...edged with lace or cut-work, which was too costly for ordinary mortals to copy.<sup>591</sup>

It is interesting to note that only eight years into that decade laced falling bands were for sale in a village in Hampshire and valued at only 7d each. Manseck had a higher proportion of small metal wares in his shop than most of the mercers, but he only offered one type of fancy lace. He stocked no handkerchiefs, but he did have 44 pairs of handkerchief buttons at 1½d. per pair – a high price compared with the only other buttons stocked, which were valued at 4d per gross. There was little choice of ribbon, only three cheap ones, but several inkles and gartering and hooks and eyes in two sizes totalling 2s.10d.

## 1620-1630

Seven inventories represented the next decade, although five of them only provided scant information. William Stanley,<sup>592</sup> a haberdasher, had 302 hats, with no more detail than the prices which totalled just over £34, plus cypress and taffeta bands at £5. Giles<sup>593</sup> had points at 12s. and in 'habberdash' ware £19.5s.6d., out of a mercery shop total of £99. The inventory of James Smallpiece,<sup>594</sup> a gentleman of Guildford, although a haberdasher according to his will, included no trade materials when he died in 1625, and the inventory of Thomas Chaper,<sup>595</sup> who evidently was also a haberdasher of hats, recorded only: 'old hatts & hatts out of fashion & hatbands and other stuffe for facings... 5s.' which was interesting for its differentiation between age and the fashion of the items concerned. The goods of John Bullocher,<sup>596</sup> also give rise to suspicions that he had effectively retired from business. Another haberdasher

---

<sup>591</sup> de Marly, Diana, *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History*, (London: 1985), p.47.

<sup>592</sup> STANLEY William, of Winchester, Hampshire. Haberdasher. HRO: 1624 A 75/2.

<sup>593</sup> GILES [no forename], of [no place], Hampshire. HRO: 1625 A042/1-2.

<sup>594</sup> SMALLPIECE James, of Guildford, Surrey. Gentleman. HRO: 1625 B63/2.

<sup>595</sup> CHAPER Thomas, of Winchester, Hampshire. HRO: 1625 Ad 27.

<sup>596</sup> BULLOCKER John, of Southampton, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1627 B 12/2.

of hats, with a house of thirteen chambers, Bullocher had only £2 worth of old hats in the shop, 5 dozen hatbands worth 10d and in the Cockloft ‘a large press to put hats in’. Nevertheless, the impression gained from the personal and domestic possessions in these documents was of traders who had been successful during their working lives.

Lambert Vibert<sup>597</sup> of Winchester, not titled in his inventory of 1622, was undoubtedly a successful merchant. His shop wares totalled £391, of which haberdashery made up £104. It should be noted, however, that £44.15s. of that was contributed by the stock of clothing, in particular an extensive list of stockings and hose although there were also bodices, coifs, girdles and garters. Threads were worth £18.10s., ribbons were valued at £15.15s., and five entries for silk threads totalled £3. There were also ten entries for assorted inkles. Vibert had a surprising number of points, nineteen entries of different types, sizes or materials, which added up to £5.10s. Among the small metal wares were four sizes of pins, twelve thousand hooks and eyes worth 16s. and four picadillies at 6d each, but there were no corresponding falling bands among the accessories. There were few buttons, and only a small quantity of lace, both sections totalling only a little over £1. Four years later in Bishops Waltham the inventory of John Cole<sup>598</sup> had a rather different balance of goods. There lace topped the list at £15 with fourteen entries out of a haberdashery total of £35, while the clothing, ribbons – which seemed to be in larger quantities of cheaper manufacture- and threads sections all added up to a little over £6 each. The clothing was, like Vibert’s, mainly stockings with some girdles, garters and gartering, and he had ten entries for points and four for buttons. This too was the inventory of a successful man. There were considerable quantities of fabric and groceries, and taken together with his domestic goods, the inventory added up to nearly £900.

## 1630-1640

There were five inventories of the 1630s, including the first in the sample from west Sussex. Foster,<sup>599</sup> a haberdasher in Andover had mixed smallwares, no hats and only stockings and a girdle as clothing. In 1631, Richard Woodward,<sup>600</sup> a mercer in New

---

<sup>597</sup> VIBERT Lambert, of Winchester, Hampshire. HRO: 1622 A69/2.

<sup>598</sup> COLE John, of Bishops Waltham, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1626 Ad31.

<sup>599</sup> FOSTER Peter, of Andover, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1630 A40/2.

<sup>600</sup> WOODWARD Richard, of New Alresford, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1631 Ad.106/1-2.



Alresford, had twenty-seven clothing accessory entries, although they only totalled £8.11s.6d. The clothing was mostly girdles, garters and stockings, but of interest were some children's knitted gloves and mingle coloured worsted hose. Lace added up to £6.12, thread to £3.16s., with ribbon and button sections of similar value at around thirty shillings each. Printed ribbons made a first appearance here. The next year in Sussex, Mutton<sup>601</sup> of Rusper had just a small quantity of haberdashery items. Lace was the largest section, followed by ribbons and buttons. He only had two accessories: bandstrings and a coif worth 1s.

In complete contrast William Newlands<sup>602</sup> of New Alresford and John Janbernis,<sup>603</sup> place unknown, both in 1638 had fairly large haberdashery stocks. Sadly for this study, the appraisers of Newlands' shop preferred not to itemise his haberdashery wares, as they had his fabrics, but reduced them to:

Irish stockins	...£2.10s [most probably linen]
Silke lace, silke Buttons and silke	...£30
haberdashers ware stokins and such things	...100 00 00 .

It may be useful here to note that stockings and 'such things' were still being considered as part of the haberdashery stock, but the following entry for a second shop was even more enigmatic: 'in the little shop in the Midle of the Stret in wares...£45.'

The quantities of Janbernis' wares came in a different order from many of the previous traders. His fourteen entries for thread added up to £8.10s., and ribbons were the next with one entry of 296 yards of cotton ribbon bring the total to over £2. His metal smallwares, worth £1.3s.1d. included more than 5,500 pins at 18s.10d, 3,000 clasps at 1s.9d. and 'more broken clasps' at 1s.,<sup>604</sup> while the six varieties of

---

<sup>601</sup> MUTTON Anthony, of Rusper, Sussex. WSRO 1632 Mutton.

<sup>602</sup> NEWLANDS William, of New Alresford, Hampshire. 1638 HRO: 1638 P20/3.

<sup>603</sup> JANBERNIS John, [No place, no trade], HRO: 1638 Ad.120.

<sup>604</sup> Since clasps were usually sold by the pair (see LEGG Thomas, Newport, Isle of Wight, HRO: 1672 B35/2) in this instance 'broken' most probably means un-paired rather than irreparably damaged.

points included Bordeau leather points. Clothes accessories, girdles, garters, caps and coifs, were only worth 15s., less than the seven varieties of inkle which came to 18s.

## 1640-1660

Only two inventories were available for the 1640s, including that of Richard Harbottle,<sup>605</sup> who was a stocking seller in Portsmouth, with just 282 pairs of stockings valued at 11s.5d. and no other wares. In Alton, in 1640 the possessions of mercer Edward Pratt<sup>606</sup> were totalled at just over £100. This inventory had a little ribbon, £4 worth of buttons, mainly of silk, lace worth £6 and threads at £7.14s.7d. Clothing accessories were valued at £12.16s.3d and were mainly stockings and hose, seventy-four pairs, with a few girdles and waistcoats. The appraisers added an unidentified ‘percell of haberdash wares...£03 05 04’.

## 1660-1670

There were no inventories to represent the 1650s for this area, but there were four for the 1660s, the first belonging to William Pecke<sup>607</sup> of Portsmouth. It was particularly unfortunate that this inventory had the wares valued in mixed lots, since a number of items appear to be more decorative, for the first time since the turn of the century. There were, for example, buttons of silk, gold, and silver for necks, coats, and waistcoats. There were fine and ‘small fancy’ ribbons, and lace made of silk, silk and silver, and loop lace.<sup>608</sup> Stockings, waistcoats, collars and black satin caps were listed in the accessories. As a rough guide to importance the haberdashery totalled around £70 and the fabrics about £140. Following the austere years of the Civil War and the Interregnum, and dated in the May exactly one year after the restoration to the throne of Charles II, this inventory, with its still moderately severe fabrics – including grey serge, ashcoloured and white calicos, white jersey and an ashcoloured paragon<sup>609</sup> – indicates the way haberdashery wares could rapidly be made available to become affordable objects of desire in a buoyant market.

---

<sup>605</sup> HARBOTTLE Richard, of Portsmouth, Hampshire. Stocking seller, HRO: 1648 A 35/2.

<sup>606</sup> PRATT Edward, of Alton, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1640 Ad.129 (pt).

<sup>607</sup> PECKE William, of Portsmouth, Hampshire. HRO: 1661 A 84/2.

<sup>608</sup> LOOPLACE A kind of lace consisting of patterns wrought upon a ground of fine net. [OED 1980] Dated by the OED from 1698, but found here some thirty years earlier.

<sup>609</sup> Echoing the grey fabrics of the inventory of the same period in LRO Carlisle: 1662 Halton.

The possessions of Read<sup>610</sup> of Newport, 1665, were valued at £49 altogether with the haberdashery – also valued in lots – worth £1.14s., while haberdasher Ambrose Toftwood,<sup>611</sup> in Andover, apparently had no wares at all. The final inventory in the decade was that of Agnes Butler,<sup>612</sup> a widow in Basingstoke. Her main wares were stockings and hose with 1,235 pairs having a total value of £88.15s.6d. She had just a few ribbons and threads, and several more items of clothing in sizes for men, women and children: coats, frocks, linen trousers, dimity drawers and leather drawers, caps, 2 bongraces and some swathes, the latter thought to be akin to swaddling bands for wrapping round babies.

## 1670-1680

In the next decade Ralph Casbert<sup>613</sup> of Fordingbridge had collars, silk stockings and belly pieces in his accessories, but the inventory was too muddled in its listing for any values to be isolated. John Price,<sup>614</sup> a general merchant in Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, also had a few wares grouped together adding up to £8. The total shop inventory of Portsmouth haberdasher George Aylward<sup>615</sup> consisted of 26 hats – felts and castors – and a few other hats linings and bands, all valued at £29. It fell to mercer Thomas Legg<sup>616</sup> of Newport, Isle of Wight, to be the most informative of the Hampshire inventories of the 1670s, and in a reversal of the general trend his hierarchy of goods started with ribbons, then thread, followed by buttons, and lace, before reaching clothes, tapes and metal smallwares. Here too, in spite of the disastrous years of the plague and the great fire of London, the evidence of the wares showed an upturn in the use of fancy goods. A wide choice of differently priced ribbons added up to £21, while buttons of brass, gimp, thread, silk, and silver totalled £9.15s, and included the first references to cassock buttons.<sup>617</sup>

---

<sup>610</sup> READ John, of Newport, Isle of Wight, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1665 Ad.78.

<sup>611</sup> TOFTWOOD Ambrose, of Andover, Hampshire. Haberdasher. HRO: 1667 B57/2.

<sup>612</sup> BUTLER Agnes, of Basingstoke, Hampshire. Widow, HRO: 1669 A20/2.

<sup>613</sup> CASBERT Ralph, of Fordingbridge, Hampshire. HRO: 1670 B12/2.

<sup>614</sup> PRICE John, of Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, Hampshire. HRO: 1674.

<sup>615</sup> AYLWARD George, of Portsmouth, Hampshire. Haberdasher. HRO: 1676 149/167.

<sup>616</sup> LEGG Thomas, of Newport, Isle of Wight, Hampshire. Mercer, HRO: 1672 B35/2.

<sup>617</sup> Cassocks were originally long loose coats worn by both sexes and are mentioned in plays of the 1550s and illustrated in the 'Cries of London' of the early-seventeenth century. See Shesgreen, S., *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon*, (London: 1991). The garment evolved to become both the ecclesiastical garb still extant, and to be subsumed into the new 'vest' of Charles II. I suggest that the use of the term

Two west Sussex inventories of the last three years of the decade added a bodice maker<sup>618</sup> whose wares, entirely clothing, totalled £17.12s., and a mercer<sup>619</sup> with haberdashery wares of £42.6s. including silk and silver buttons, and silver and gold lace. The last inventory, for Michael Woodgate<sup>620</sup> a mercer in Horsham, had bonnets among the scarves, girdles, hoods, masks, bandstrings, bodies, waistcoats and stockings.

## 1680-1690

Moving on into the 1680s seven relevant inventories exist for Hampshire and two for Sussex. Thomas Hill<sup>621</sup> of Southampton and John Ardern<sup>622</sup> of Fareham were haberdashers of hats and their inventories contained only composite entries for men's, women's, and boys' hats and hatbands totalling £35 in the case of Hill, and £75 in the case of Ardern. The inventory of the wares of Philip James<sup>623</sup> from Portsmouth continued the apparent trend from the 1670s for an increase in ready-made clothing and for a greater supply of fancy wares. Out of a wares total of £83.16s. the clothing accounted for £36. In addition to four pairs of silk stockings and 180 pairs of worsted and yarn stockings at £15.8s.5d., James also had in his stock:

made Cloathes for Saile ...14 08 02  
and  
58 shirts 12 Linnen jacketts & 2 p' of drawers for sale... 07 11 06

The note that these items were for sale appears to confirm that on other occasions garments presented to the public were for display only, as samples from which to take orders. Portsmouth shopkeepers would undoubtedly benefit from the presence of the naval base, as evidenced by the quantity of inexpensive shirts, and perhaps by the 3,120 'crown' buttons, in James' stock.

---

here for buttons made of silk and of silver, may be to differentiate between the old coat buttons, and the newly evolving fashion set by the king.

<sup>618</sup> BURROW Thomas, of Tillington, Sussex. Bodice maker, WSRO: 1677 Burrow.

<sup>619</sup> VALLOR Thomas, of Harting, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO: 1678 Vallor.

<sup>620</sup> WOODGATE Michael, of Horsham, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO: 1679 Woodgate.

<sup>621</sup> HILL Thomas, of Southampton, Hampshire. Haberdasher, HRO: 1680 A 55/2.

<sup>622</sup> ARDERN John, of Fareham, Hampshire. Haberdasher. HRO: 1683 P 2/2.

<sup>623</sup> JAMES Philip, of Portsmouth, Hampshire. Mercer, 1680 PRO: PROB 4 20943.

Titled as a woollen draper and mercer by his appraisers in 1683, the wares of Hackman<sup>624</sup> of Ringwood included over 4,000 yards of assorted fabrics. He also had a large supply of buttons, 4,920, valued at £29. Many haberdashery items were subsumed amongst his other wares, but silver and loop laces were individually valued at £25. Two years later the goods of widow Elizabeth Dore<sup>625</sup> of Newport were similarly combined. For example she had: 'Tapes, incles, laces, pins, ferrets, and seuerall other sorts of haberdashware...07 03 03', while the much smaller inventory of widow Ann Mathew<sup>626</sup> who sold primarily locram, Holland, linen and calico, included: 'buttons silke reboning pins thread inkell tape & other smale things...16s.' Anthony Stocker<sup>627</sup> from Newchurch, Isle of Wight, had the most detailed of the 1680s inventories, including such specifics as 136 yards of ribbon at £1.2s.8d. Although pins rarely appear in their own right in many of the earlier inventories, being doubtless included under the 'other small wares' heading, they were recorded in detail for Stocker: 11,000 pins, 5s.1d.; 5,000 ordinary pins, 2s.1d.; 4,000 more ordinary pins, 1s.8d.; great pins, 1s.6d.; 12 pins, 6s.6d.

John Rogers of Chichester,<sup>628</sup> described as a glover, kept a few haberdashery items – thread, inkle, laces and points, and tape, worth £1.10s. - among his other wares, which could only be described as grocery. There were no fabrics, no clothes and definitely no gloves. John Waller of Horsham<sup>629</sup> whose inventory was taken in 1687, was described as a feltmaker in the superscript although the final entry referred to 'Tooles belonging to the trade of a Hatter'. His wares, which totalled just over £63, were indeed all headwear: 32 castors (beaver) worth £6.15s.; 105 hats totalling £7.13s.6d.; 56 straw hats from 8d to 2s. each, adding up to £2.18s.; 16 chip hats worth 11s.6d.; with hatbands and linings worth £1.11s.4d.

---

<sup>624</sup> HACKMAN Thomas, of Ringwood, Hampshire. Woollen draper and mercer. HRO: 1683 Ad 46.

<sup>625</sup> DORE Elizabeth, of Newport, Isle of Wight, Hampshire. Widow. HRO: 1685 Ad 32.

<sup>626</sup> MATHEW Ann, of Kingsley, Hampshire. Widow, HRO: 1687 A 58/2.

<sup>627</sup> STOCKER Anthony, of Newchurch, Isle of Wight, Hampshire. HRO: 1686 B 36/2.

<sup>628</sup> ROGERS John, of Chichester, Sussex. Glover, WSRO: 1680 Rogers.

<sup>629</sup> WALLER John, of Horsham, Sussex. Feltmaker, WSRO: 1687 Waller.

## 1690-1700

The final decade of the seventeenth century saw three examples from west Sussex and just one from Hampshire. A mercer of Storrington, John Penfold<sup>630</sup> in 1691, had £27.12s.9d worth of haberdashery and clothing accessories. While the clothing was still the most valuable section at £10, buttons came second at £6.2s. despite there being some old and loose ones; ribbons were next at £4, followed by thread at £3.13s. The clothing included yellow waistcoats and three 'frocks.' Developed from the long loose coat or tunic of the medieval period when worn mainly by men, by 1538 frocks had become an outer garment for indoor wear by women and children, consisting of a bodice and skirt, and also, by 1668 an overall - a smock-frock.<sup>631</sup> Penfold's frocks were made of canvas, so would have been workingmen's wear.<sup>632</sup> Leather buttons were probably for working clothes, but the references to 10 gross and 6 gross of Bagg buttons provided something of a conundrum. There being two entries of the word helps to confirm the transcription as correct, but whether these buttons were used in association with bag-wigs or with some other form of bag has yet to be ascertained. Wigs had certainly been in use from long before 1691<sup>633</sup> and the bag or *bourse* was invented to contain some of the hair, in order to protect the wearer's clothing as the use of whitening powder became excessive. The earliest references to bag wigs however, seem to be in the 1720s, rather too far in the future for this inventory to include them. The number of buttons too surely indicated a utilitarian use, but this has yet to be discovered. In Hampshire John Long<sup>634</sup> of Eling, a merchant tailor in 1694, also had frocks among his stocks. They were valued at 5s.6d each, so must have been made of better fabric than those of Penfold in Sussex three years previously. He also had handkerchiefs for sale and a dozen shirts at 2s.3d. each.

---

<sup>630</sup> PENFOLD John, of Storrington, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO 1691 Penfold.

<sup>631</sup> OED/1980

<sup>632</sup> The earliest mention of frocks in this sample is of *16 Frocks for Children 2s 2d pec'*, BUTLER Agnes, Basingstoke, Hampshire. October 1669 HRO: 1669 A20/2.

<sup>633</sup> Fairholt cites a privy purse expenditure of twenty shillings in 1529 for a perwyke (*perruque*) for Sexton, fool to king Henry VIII as the earliest notice, but they were in quite common use by the early-seventeenth century. Fairholt, F.W. *Costume of England*, Vol. II, Glossary, Revised edition, (London: 1885), p.316.

<sup>634</sup> LONG, John, of Eling, Hampshire. Merchant tailor, HRO: 1694 Ad.129.

Thomas Allen<sup>635</sup> was a chapman of Petworth whose inventory in 1692 contained a large quantity of ‘dampnified,’ that is, condemned, wares; followed by a second list entitled ‘fresh goods’. In the first part 36 entries of small quantities of lace added up to 172 yards, valued – even in its poor condition- at £25.14s. He also had nearly £11 worth of mixed clothing accessories including handkerchiefs and bengall caps and ribbons valued at £7.9s. John Willson,<sup>636</sup> also of Petworth and in the same year, had a particularly comprehensive stock of clothing, even though it only added up £12.15s. As well as all the usual items he also had pairs of sleeves – silk or plain; handkerchiefs, neckerchiefs, and neck scarves; gloves, bonns (bonnets presumably) and 4 ‘drowles.’ Drolls (drolles or *drôles*) appeared infrequently, as mentioned when dealing with Monke<sup>637</sup> of Cumbria, and are noted by the OED only in terms of verb or adverb.<sup>638</sup> Nevertheless, they were recorded in inventories as appraised objects often enough to confirm their category as goods of haberdashery or accessory. The association of the items with other entries gave the impression that they were personal accessories, possibly masks, hoods, or fans with something amusing about them. The examples in the sample were dated between 1665 and 1673 in London,<sup>639</sup> 1684 in Carlisle, and 1692 in Petworth. Their details show them variously to be: for sale at around 18d each; linked in one entry with sleeves, in another with satin caps, and in a third with hoods, before vizards (masks); finally, and most descriptively, as ‘6 laced black drolls and 2 plain’, followed by an entry for landscape-painted fans. Twenty years behind the London examples, they were presumably the last of the fashion, possibly present in the Petworth shop because of the proximity of the gentry at the Petworth House. They were, however, articles well known enough to be identified and valued by the Sussex appraisers.

## 1700-1710

There were two inventories for the first decade of the eighteenth century, those of Luck<sup>640</sup> and Lintott,<sup>641</sup> both from west Sussex and with a number of similarities.

---

<sup>635</sup> ALLEN Thomas, of Petworth, Sussex. Chapman, WSRO: 1692 Allen.

<sup>636</sup> WILLSON John, of Petworth, Sussex. WSRO: 1692 Willson.

<sup>637</sup> LRO Carlisle: 1684 Monk.

<sup>638</sup> 1641 Something humorous or funny, thus: a) 1641 A caricature b) 1654 Facetious story.

<sup>639</sup> See the Orphans Inventories, Guildhall, London: EARDLEY 1665, Roll 276; BAMFORD 1667, Roll 347 A; COOTE 1673, Roll 889.

<sup>640</sup> LUCK Samuel, of Steyning, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO: 1706 Luck.

Clothing accessories and threads were the top sections, with hose being exactly half of the accessories' total. Buttons, ribbons, and tape were in almost the same order in each, finishing with lace and laces. Although ribbons were still in style, lace had certainly slumped, while buttons were being stocked in ever-greater numbers as a result of the increasing popularity of men's three-piece suits, which could easily use five or six dozen buttons of various sizes. Both lists included printed petticoats, chip hats and bonnets – and shrouds. Lintott also had steel shoe buckles and girdle buckles among the small metal wares. Both inventories included horn buttons, but while Luck's were worth about a penny, Lintott's were valued at around a farthing each. In this sample horn buttons only appeared three times before the eighteenth century,<sup>642</sup> then five times between 1705 and 1720. The rise in the fashion of coats and waistcoats requiring more buttons was accompanied by a corresponding rise not only in fancy buttons for the wealthy, but also in cheap buttons. The implication is that men of the poorer sort were participating in the wearing of a fashion outfit that was being gradually adapted to become the regular dress of the nation.

## 1710-1720

In 1711 Samuel Stores<sup>643</sup> of Warbleton had unspecified haberdashery in his shop, plus bodices, gloves, and hats valued at £32. John Slatter<sup>644</sup> had £3 worth in his Broadwater shop, and a further £15 in wares in the Sompting shop, including an inventory entry that may be for 'Bristol buttons,' paste stones popular in the eighteenth century. Petworth mercer Thomas Bysshe,<sup>645</sup> also in 1711, had haberdashery and clothing goods, including printed petticoats and silk handkerchiefs, which added up to £92.2s. Although the accessories alone were worth £38, the nine entries for threads totalled £24.16s. Boucher notes that the eighteenth century 'produced exceptional conditions for embroidery.' Money was more plentiful, he notes, and 'the most varied textiles, taffeta, satin, velvet, etc. lent themselves to

---

<sup>641</sup> LINTOTT William, of Harting, Sussex. WSRO: 1710 Lintott.

<sup>642</sup> Glevins HRO: 1592 A 045/1-2, and Butler HRO; 1669 A20/2 in Hampshire, and Billers in Coventry, LJRO: Billers 1676.

<sup>643</sup> STORES Samuel, of Warbleton, Sussex. WSRO: 1711 Stores.

<sup>644</sup> SLATTER John, of Soumpting, Sussex, Mercer, WSRO: 1711 Slatter.

<sup>645</sup> BYSSHE Thomas, of Petworth, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO: 1711 Bysshe.



needlework, which scattered flowers, birds and figures' over gowns, coats and men's waistcoats.<sup>646</sup>

Embroidery in Satin Stitch...termed Low or Plain Embroidery..when the designs are shaded, is capable of producing the most beautiful results, and is equal in effect to painting. It was this branch of the art that was brought to such perfection in the time of Queen Anne and the Georges, when sprays or garlands of flowers were worked upon light silk or satin grounds in tints that matched their natural colours to the minutest detail.<sup>647</sup>

In men's wear, notes Kybalova,<sup>648</sup> 'The outfit was completed by coloured stockings, usually red or pink: only fops wore pale blue.' In 1712 Levett<sup>649</sup> of Petworth had these highly desirable items in his mercery shop 'Blew Green & other Cullerd stockings...£2.' Thomas Woollison<sup>650</sup> had both a shop at Thatcham, which specialised in ready-made clothes and accessories, as might be expected from his title of salesman, and a second shop at Chiltington. As in Cumbria in the 1720s, handkerchiefs were becoming more regularly found in Hampshire and Sussex inventories; Woolison had examples in silk in the both shops plus 24 in some other material in Chiltington, where there was also a canvas frock at 4s. and a canvas frock and breeches at 4s.6d. 2 homemade shirt cloths for 9s. were also listed there, fabric marked and ready for cutting, or perhaps already cut. The clothing in Chiltington totalled £9.3s.4d, while the threads came to £7.14s. Tapes were important to him too at a little over £5, but ribbon was only valued at 9s., less than pins and oddments at £1.13s.

As a grocer in Arundel in 1719 Thomas Horne<sup>651</sup> might not have been expected to have many haberdashery wares. However his inventory showed small quantities of buttons and metal wares – including guinea buttons, £4 worth each of tapes and ribbons, thread valued at £9.7s. together with nearly £20 worth of clothing and accessories, mostly hose and handkerchiefs. The rising fashion in handkerchiefs can

---

<sup>646</sup> Boucher, Francois, *20,000 Years of Fashion*, (New York: expanded edition, 1967), p.319.

<sup>647</sup> Caulfeild, S. and B.C. Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework. An Encyclopedia of Artistic, Plain, and Fancy Needlework*. (Exeter: reprint, 1989), p.173.

<sup>648</sup> Kybalova, Ludmila, and others, *The Pictorial Encyclopedia of Fashion*, (London: 1968).

<sup>649</sup> LEVETT Thomas, of Petworth, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO: 1712 Levett.

<sup>650</sup> WOOLLISON Thomas, of Thatcham, Sussex. Salesman, WSRO: 1718 Woollison.

<sup>651</sup> HORNE Thomas, of Arundel, Sussex. Grocer, WSRO: 1719 Horne.

be seen in his stock of 24 ordinary, 6 striped, 11 silk and '13 old fashioned Gause Hankirchiefs at 6s', the latter fabric reference useful in confirming that handkerchiefs were for display in the hand or round the neck, rather than use for the nose.

## 1720-1730

The well-stocked shop of Henry Newman<sup>652</sup> in Arundell carried haberdashery to the value of £24.16s.7d. when appraised in 1720. There was also £15.13s.10d worth of ready-made wear, mainly hose and a few garters, plus the by now ubiquitous, handkerchiefs in linen and silk. Thread and tape both totalled around £7, with pins of six sizes adding up to 3 guineas. It was surprising that buttons came almost last on the list with only meagre amounts of three sorts adding up to £1.2s. It might also not be anticipated that Edward Fulljames,<sup>653</sup> a tallow chandler of Midhurst, would be likely to carry haberdashery wares. However, his main shop had about £4 worth of both threads and tapes, pins at £1.15s. and a few ½d laces. There was a second shop in the marketplace with a very small quantity of what might be considered necessities: the basic haberdashery, writing paper, cleaning things, candles, glue and drinking vessels. It had a counter, drawers, and shelves, so was unlikely to have been a market stall but would doubtless have benefited from its site on market days.

## 1730-1740

One inventory was available from Hampshire in the next decade, that of a grocer in Winchester in 1734. John Tomkins<sup>654</sup> had a small collection of haberdashery wares valued at just over £7. Thread, laces, inkle and pins were present in just a few examples of each, but in addition there were nine different sorts of tape. The sellers of haberdashery wares in Sussex in the 1730s included two women: the widow of a grocer, and a woman classed as a grocer in her own right. When Thomas Horne of Arundel died in 1719 (see above) probate was granted to 'Susanna Horne, relic and executrix', and his inventory totalled £457. Fifteen years later the inventory of Susan Horne<sup>655</sup> of Arundel, widow, added up to £582, an obviously still thriving business. The two inventories showed that the balance of wares remained similar. Neither

---

<sup>652</sup> NEWMAN Henry, of Arundel, Sussex. Shop keeper, WSRO: 1720 Newman.

<sup>653</sup> FULLJAMES Edward, of Midhurst, Sussex. Tallow chandler, WSRO: 1729 Fulljames.

<sup>654</sup> TOMKINS John, of Winchester, Hampshire. Grocer, HRO: 1734 Ad 132/1.

<sup>655</sup> HORNE Susan, of Arundel, Sussex. Widow of grocer, WSRO: 1734/5 Horne.

stocked lace, both had a few laces. Both had quantities of hose with some caps and handkerchiefs, making the clothing accessories totals £18.14s (Susanna) and £19.11s. (Thomas). Thomas had threads at £9.7s, Susanna's were £8.18. Susanna had 5 sizes of pins and some knitting needles worth £1.10s, while Thomas had only a few shillings worth of pins. Susanna's tapes were valued at £6.2.3d, Thomas's were £4.4s. Thomas had ribbon worth £4.7s, Susanna had the same sort but in smaller quantities worth only £2.2s. Thomas's total for haberdashery and accessories was £39.3s.1d., and over a decade later his wife's total was £35.14s.10d. Perhaps more important than the values, however, was the evidence that the balance of wares was substantially the same through the period of time in spite of the change from the man to the woman as the shop owner. However, the look of the shop must have changed considerably since the shop now had sash windows, mirrors, counters, shelves and boxes.

Like the Hornes, Mary Poate,<sup>656</sup> grocer of Westbourne, might be seen as representative of the important small shopkeepers whose stock best demonstrates the items most in demand by the working people of a parish. Hose, handkerchiefs and caps also made up her accessories list, thread and yarn were obviously important with a choice of seven items. At £4.19s. the threads were valued at 6s. more than the ready-made goods. Ribbons at £4.14s.6d. were followed by two sorts of tape. Buttons at 15s. were of slightly higher value than the laces and inkle. Pins were valued at 5s.6d. For comparison, to demonstrate the relative importance of types of wares, Poate had nineteen examples of haberdashery, seven of grocery, nine different fabrics, three crock or glass wares, and seven other items, including brushes, mops, candles, hornbooks, primers and whipcord. A choice of haberdashery wares can be seen as every bit as necessary as the groceries for which the shop was named.

The third representative of the decade, Richard Gillham<sup>657</sup> of Arundel, had been one of Susan Horne's appraisers only three years previously. Titled as an ironmonger and joiner, his wares were recorded in what might be termed, numerical summaries:

---

<sup>656</sup> POATE Mary, of Westbourne, Sussex. Grocer, WSRO: 1737 Poate.

<sup>657</sup> GILLHAM Richard, of Arundel, Sussex. Ironmonger and Joiner, WSRO: 1738 Gillham.

Thirty six bolts, Fifty Two Staples, Sixty four Dozen of Brass Handles, Rings & Scutcheons, Twenty nine dozen of Cloak pinns Chimney Hooks & Brass Buttons.

Following the large quantities of metal and then woodenwares, the penultimate section has a surprising entry for: Haberdashers and Milliners Goods. It began with: Ninety one Hats, Sixty nine pair of Stockings, Twenty one Handkerchiefs, and continued with ferret ribbon, thread, binding, fabrics, and 14 rolls of printed paper. This showed that, although his wares totalled roughly £900, Gillham considered it worth his while to stock a small collection of haberdashery valued at £36.2s.8d, despite the unlikely combination with his other wares.

## 1740-1750

In 1748 the wares of Mary Ford<sup>658</sup> of Westbourne were too mixed to be able to say more than that she had buttons, pins, gartering, 3 pairs of stays and 2 coarse handkerchiefs worth 7d each. The inventory of the goods of Thomas Backshell<sup>659</sup> in the same year was, by contrast, very detailed. The ready-made items in his collection of wares had only one entry for stockings, but seven entries for the 103 handkerchiefs, of linen and of susey, which added up to £14.16s. He also had four striped gowns for £2, 5 cloaks for the same amount, and two round-frocks for 6 shillings. On this occasion the total for threads and yarn was greater at £16 than that for accessories, at £14.16s. The small metal wares total was only just over £4, three pounds less than the tapes, but since it included 30,000 pins, hooks and eyes, buckles, sewing and knitting needles, scissors and thimbles, it was in fact pretty comprehensive.

The last inventory of the Hampshire sample was that of Basingstoke clothier Thomas Butterson.<sup>660</sup> Clothing ready-made included stockings, gloves and caps together with 2 gowns for 18s., handkerchiefs in silk, lawn, half lace, and linen totalling £11, and muffetees at 6s.4d.<sup>661</sup> He also had £16 worth of ribbons and a parcel of lace and edgings valued at £13.

---

<sup>658</sup> FORD Mary, of Westbourne, Sussex. Widow, WSRO: 1748 Ford.

<sup>659</sup> BACKSHELL Thomas, of Broadwater, Sussex. WSRO: 1748 Backshell.

<sup>660</sup> BUTTERTON Thomas, of [no place], Hampshire. Clothier, HRO: 1750 Ad12/1.

<sup>661</sup> MUFFETEES: OED/1980 notes 1706 a muffler worn round the neck. 1808 a worsted cuff worn on the wrist. However, since in this case they are being sold in pairs the second reference is more appropriate, even though fifty years earlier than the OED suggests.

## 1750-1760

Boxall of Kirdford,<sup>662</sup> in 1754, following what appeared to be the slight change of emphasis which began around 1710, had thread and yarn valued at slightly more than the ready-made items: £28.16s, as opposed to £20.16s. Just over £5 of the total was accounted for by handkerchiefs, which included Scotch hanks, and £10.7s. was for 'A parcel of Pieces for Waistcoats'. It is not clear from this inventory if the pieces were being offered for sale ready for home assembly, or if they were unfinished work in hand; the former is thought to be the most likely. In that same year Peirce<sup>663</sup> of Harting, a tailor, had no haberdashery wares, but his clothing included 40 coats of different sizes for nearly £11, 36 waistcoats at £5, children's coats and waistcoats, and a single petticoat. The latter was likely to have been a shop model since at this point petticoats had not quite made the transition from visible under skirt to invisible underwear. To confirm this, an entry in the inventory of Robert Brown,<sup>664</sup> chapman of Petworth in 1757, included 3 linen under-petticoats. Peirce also had among his wares a parcel of old clothes bought of Edmund Carlyle Esq. for £2.,<sup>665</sup> while Brown had 4 pairs of second hand stays for women. Unfortunately the items were not individually valued so the price allotted by the appraisers to second hand goods is not available, but the presence of the items confirmed Lemire's findings regarding the trade in second hand clothing.<sup>666</sup>

Ready-made clothing accounted for about seventy-five percent of the £196.15s.10d. total wares valuation of Robert Brown. Apart from the regular stockings, hose and caps, stays, bodices, and breeches, together with drawers of flannel, Russia duck, canvas and ticking, Brown also had the widest selection of handkerchiefs so far encountered: Kenting, large and small Scotch, Russia, silk, and gauze. He had

---

*Halliwel's Dictionary*, quoted by Fairholt, p.292, specifies fur or worsted, worn by ladies. However he also mentions 'Scarlet and Saxon-green muffetees' worn by men in a satirical song on male fashions, temp. Anne, 1702-14.

<sup>662</sup> BOXALL William, of Kirdford, Sussex. Mercer, WSRO: 1754 Boxall.

<sup>663</sup> PEIRCE Henry of Harting, Sussex. Tailor, WSRO: 1754 Peirce.

<sup>664</sup> BROWN Robert, of Petworth, Sussex. Chapman, WSRO: 1757 Brown.

<sup>665</sup> A late-seventeenth century publication regarding apprentices includes the description 'my Master was not only a taylor but kept a broker's shop, wherein he sold all sorts of clothes new and old.' Meriton Laroon, *The English Rogue*, Vol. II, (1668/9), p.163. See Lemire, below.

<sup>666</sup> Lemire, B., 'Peddling Fashion: Salesmen. Pawnbrokers, Tailors, Thieves and the Second-hand clothes trade in England c.1700-1800', *Textile History*, Volume 22, (1991), pp.67-82.

several cloaks and a choice of coats: cloth, knapped, and fustian, together with breeches and frocks in canvas and fustian, all of assorted sizes. The choice of waistcoat was wide: sleeved waistcoats were available in knapped, spotted, baize, and grogram fabrics; while customers for waistcoats without sleeves could choose between scarlet everlasting, scarlet cloth, crimson, spotted linen, cherry derry, Kenting linen and striped lincey. Brown stocked just a few waistcoat and sleeve buttons, fabrics, pattens and clogs.

## 1760-1770

The final two inventories available for the west Sussex sample were those of Nathaniel Johnson<sup>667</sup> of Lancing, whose inventory taken in 1766 was not exhibited until 1771, and Henry Norman<sup>668</sup> of Midhurst in 1769. Shopkeeper Johnson had £100 worth of clothing: 38 pairs of buckskin breeches produced the highest entry at £18.13s., followed by an unspecified quantity of handkerchiefs and gauzes at £8.6s.2d. The total value of his handkerchiefs was £20.8s.7d, a significant part of his wares, comprised of blue and white, silk, check, and red and white. He had 15 coats and waistcoats ‘made up’ which confirms that on occasion such items could be sold not yet made up, as in the pieces of waistcoats in the shop of Boxall (see above). There were 40 round frocks, indicating that some customers were labourers, while the fine hats, and the 100 yards of lace at £6.10s. imply that others of his patrons had higher expectations of the shop. Henry Norman had a shop total of £79. The thread section was the most valuable at £5.16, then accessories at £4.15, and buttons valued at £3.10s. These were mostly shirt, coloured or unspecified buttons. However, he had a quantity of blue basket breast buttons worth 3s.6d

It is of course not unexpected that the counties of Hampshire and Sussex should be comfortably supplied with a good number of well-stocked shops for the purchase of haberdashery smallwares and accessories. Not only were those counties close to London for the ease of obtaining wares from the capital, noted for example even as early as 1592 in Glevins’ inventory ‘in sondry wares lately come from London’, but also the counties themselves were already favoured places for the country houses of

---

<sup>667</sup> JOHNSON Nathaniel of Lancing, Sussex. Shopkeeper, WSRO: 1766 Johnson.

<sup>668</sup> NORMAN Henry of Midhurst, Sussex. WSRO: 1769 Norman.

wealthy members of the aristocracy. The area showed an early presence of quantities of made up clothes available for sale, as opposed to single items to order and separate from accessories. The first Hampshire inventory, for example, included 20 shirts for sale as early as 1581. Hampshire was the county in this sample where a Haberdasher was quite likely to be of hats rather than of smallwares, and the Isle of Wight, despite its isolation, was surprisingly well served for mercery wares by a number of traders, many of whom stocked goods appropriate to the affluent end of the market.

## London

It is not surprising that many more inventories for London survive than for the selected counties. In general, those analysed here had a specific feature or a particular specialisation to provide a standard against which to assess the availability of wares in the focus areas.<sup>669</sup>

### 1610-1630

The first three, from the Mayor's Court Inventories, covered the years 1610-1627. John Eldred<sup>670</sup> in 1610 had nearly £12 worth of buttons. Silk, valued at 1s.6d per gross, and silk and silver and silk and gold at 4s per gross. He had eight different sorts of lace and seven sorts each of ribbons and threads. There were hardly any ready-made items in his stock, unlike Francis Skinner<sup>671</sup> the following year whose stock was about eighty-five percent ready-made accessories, at least half of which was gloves. The cheapest were child's gloves at 6d. per pair, the dearest were embroidered ones at £1.4s. a pair. He also had garters, girdles, muffs, a few laces, ribbons, and threads, and some musical instrument strings. In 1626 Girdler Arthur

---

<sup>669</sup> Records were consulted and photocopied or photographed, with kind permission of the senior archivists, at the Corporation of London Record Office, Guildhall, and the National Archives (formerly The Public Record Office), Chancery Lane, and Kew. Guildhall: Index of Mayors' Court Inventories, References from 'Mayors Court Original Bills. List of Schedules.' Reference numbers are File and Case numbers.

Corporation of London Record Office: Index of London Orphans Inventories, Red Index.

<sup>670</sup> ELDRED John, Esq; of London. CLRO: MCI 28. 70 1610 May.

<sup>671</sup> SKINNER Francis Bullocke, of London. CLRO: MCI 30.91 1611, July.

Shugar<sup>672</sup> had a good quantity of 'loomwork,' confirming the fact that girdles were loom woven rather than made up out of fabric. He also had some basic threads, two examples of lace and two of inkle together with some fancy accessories. Velvet masks, spangled shadow coifs, two spangled suits, an 'unspangled' shadow and some drawn worn coifs added up to only £1.4s.2d. out of a shop inventory total of £13.

## 1660-1670

When examining London inventories from the 1660s and 1670s it is evident that many shop keepers found it to their advantage to specialise.

Thus William Carey<sup>673</sup> a haberdasher in 1664, whose inventory total was £1055, had large quantities of wool, fabrics and yarns, such as Scotch, Edinburgh, Mindian, Lancashire Cotton, and Long Brunswick, but had no other haberdashery type of wares. Gardner,<sup>674</sup> a mercer in 1665, had crewel, thread and thrums and a little coarse horse fringe, and in the same year Richard Eardley,<sup>675</sup> a haberdasher, concentrated on lace and clothing. Over 1200 yards of lace, mostly narrow, added up to £232. It can also be seen from his inventory how many items of dress could be sold already decorated with lace, and therefore how simple it would be to transform undecorated items with the addition of a little readily available haberdashery. Cravats, pinnars, coifs, forehead pieces, chin cloths, caps, childbed suits and neckcloths were all sold 'laced' and unlaced. Eardley, as noted already, sold 'droles'. He also had some 'old fashion cuffs'. Curiously cuffs were also sold by barber-surgeon Thomas Vaughan<sup>676</sup> in 1665, together with £4 worth of handkerchiefs, caps, drawers made of Holland or dimity, some half shirts and pairs of sleeves.

In 1667 the wares of haberdasher Henry Alseabrooke<sup>677</sup> were valued at £1,981.2s.3d., but they were entirely comprised of fabrics. Robert Bamford,<sup>678</sup> whose total inventory came to £240.4s.4d., had £62.9s. worth of clothing and accessories, lace worth £63, and £1.5s. worth of handkerchief buttons and bandstrings. About half the

---

<sup>672</sup> SHUGAR Arthur, of London. Girdler CLRO: MCI 41.108 1626 March.

<sup>673</sup> CAREY William, of London. Haberdasher. 1664. CLRO: Misc. Inv. Roll 62.

<sup>674</sup> GARDNER Thomas, of London. Mercer. 1665. CLRO: Roll 320.

<sup>675</sup> EARDLEY Richard, of London. Haberdasher. 1665 CLRO: Roll 276.

<sup>676</sup> VAUGHAN Thomas, of London. Barber surgeon. 1665 CLRO: Roll 280.

<sup>677</sup> ALSEABROOKE Henry, of London. Haberdasher. 1667 CLRO: Roll 511.

<sup>678</sup> BAMFORD Robert, of London. Merchant tailor. 1667 CLRO: Roll 347 A.



accessories could be purchased by customers for reasons of image rather than necessity, for example laced cravats, bands, coifs and childbed suits; Tiffany whisks, frilled gorgettes, puffs, and looped cuffs. There were however some less fancy goods: whole shirts and half shirts, aprons, pocket-handkerchiefs and drawers in Holland and in cambric, calico hoods, caps and gloves. In his collection of lace, Devonshire was the most expensive at 8s. and 12s. per yard, but Bamford also had narrow edging and sundry other laces at 7d. and 8d. per yard. Another London haberdasher with no haberdashery was Thomas Ash<sup>679</sup> whose stocks of clothing added up to £134. Hose, socks and stockings for men women and children, accounted for all but £8 of the total.

The amazing quantity of wares belonging to haberdasher Herbert Allen<sup>680</sup> ‘In the shop on the Exchange’ added up to £1,077.16s. The 40 entries for lace totalled £359 being mainly *small lace* at a variety of prices, from as little as 6d per yard up to 17 shillings per yard. There were some English point laces, some Point Venice and French, also a few laces for specific use: cravat lace, lace for scarves, for hoods and for whisks. There were a few points, bandstrings, screen fans and masks, but overwhelmingly the shop sold lightweight clothing and clothes accessories. For headwear Allan stocked caps, hoods, and droll hoods; for the neck and upper body there were bands, cravats, whisks, scarves, neckcloths, gorgettes and mourning peakes.

There were 18 shirts from 17s 10d. to 5s.10d., and 53 half shirts from 16s.10d. to 5s., together with shifts, and sleeves, gloves, cuffs and square handkerchiefs. For the lower body he had linen, drawers, trousers, hose, legs, and boot hose. Most of the garments were in men’s, women’s or children’s sizes and styles, but specifically for women there were petticoats, aprons, linen, and a choice of 32 suits of childbed linen, laced or plain, priced from £5.10s. down to 15s. The superscription did not indicate the trade of the two appraisers, but they were obviously well informed. Not only were the items priced and fully described, for example note the detail in ‘**weltd** alamode scarves’, and ‘6 **ffrench** lac’d whisks’, but also among the large quantity of garments which must have been up to date, they drew attention to the few items not still in favour: ‘old fashion hose and boot-hose... old fashion linen for women... old fashion

---

<sup>679</sup> ASH Thomas, of London. Haberdasher. 1667 CLRO: 334B.

<sup>680</sup> ALLEN Herbert, of London. Haberdasher. 1668 CLRO: 215.

cravats and.. old fashion lace’. Finally this inventory was interesting for its last entry showing the putting-out system being practiced: ‘Holland and Cambrick in the hands of work women to make up...£5.12s’.

Chaplin,<sup>681</sup> haberdasher, had £62.9s. of yarn, thread and inkle. Orme,<sup>682</sup> haberdasher, had fabric, hemp and ‘coka nutts’ in his ware house, but apparently no haberdashery. Chapman,<sup>683</sup> a draper, had a mixed selection of goods in the style of a haberdasher, with a little lace, ribbons, ready-mades, threads, laces and a few metal smallwares. The goods were not individually valued but came to £112.9s 10d. In 1671 the stocks of John Crow<sup>684</sup> pewterer, and John Bagnall<sup>685</sup> cutler, showed a number of similarities, the first being that both of them belonged to metalworking guilds, not haberdashery at all. Both had a similar number of entries for ribbons, threads and tapes, both had only a couple of accessory items. Bagnall had but a single example of lace and only thread buttons; Crow had two laces, and thread and waistcoat buttons. The metal smallwares too were exactly the same: pins, needles hooks and eyes and thimbles. Undoubtedly the quantities, and possibly qualities, were different since Crow’s total was only £153 against Bagnall’s £649. However, the significant factor was the relative balance within the shop of the wares available for purchase.

## 1670-1680

Nicholas Clarke<sup>686</sup> was a haberdasher of hats, and his goods added up to £38.17s.4d. It may be that his shop had not been flourishing for some time, because some of the stock - 6 hats, 6 French hats, 29 felts and 30 casters - was noted as being ‘old fashioned.’ Since Clarke had other French hats not described as old fashioned, it would seem that he had at least two styles. The prices of his casters were in the 4s.6d. to 5s.6d. price range with felts at 1s.6d. and 2s, while in the same period in Portsmouth George Aylward sold castors at 8s. and felts at 2s.6d. The following year William Hudson<sup>687</sup> titled as a skinner with a shop on the Exchange, stocked no hats in

---

<sup>681</sup> CHAPLIN Richard, of London. Haberdasher. 1669 CLRO: 556.

<sup>682</sup> ORME Robert, of London. Haberdasher. 1670 PRO: PROB4 7905.

<sup>683</sup> CHAPMAN Nathaniel, of London. Draper. 1670 CLRO: Roll 631.

<sup>684</sup> CROW John, of London. Pewterer. 1671 CLRO: Roll 694.

<sup>685</sup> BAGNALL John, of London. Cutler. 1671 CLRO: Roll 672.

<sup>686</sup> CLARKE Nicholas, of London. Haberdasher. 1671 CLRO: Misc. Inv. Roll 99.

<sup>687</sup> HUDSON William, of London. Skinner. 1672 CLRO: Roll 759.

his mixed clothing accessories but had at least 40 hoods, scarves, bands and laced linen, shifts, shirts and drawers. His total was £58.14s.6d, but the wares were not itemised.

Thomas Barnaby,<sup>688</sup> a grocer in 1673, had no grocery in his parish of St. Albans Wood Street shop, but instead had nearly £46 worth of metal wares including gilt or silver wire, refined gilt or silver waste, silver thread and gold thread. He also had £15 of dyed silk at 25s. per pound, and coloured silk at 1s. per ounce, presumably for combining with metal to make the gold and silver thread. In the same year John Critchlow,<sup>689</sup> a cloth worker, was dealing in large numbers of made-up clothes. His inventory recorded 554 waistcoats, cassocks and coats ...£90.9s.3d.; 382 drawers and breeches ...£41.6s.; 203 shirts and frocks...£23.18s.2d.; and 53 canvas suits..£7.0s.10d. He did have one entry for buttons, tapes and remnants worth £4, but no other haberdashery.

The last inventory for 1673 was the large one of Edward Coote,<sup>690</sup> leather seller by title but mercer or haberdasher by wares, whose shop was at the Royal Exchange. The inventory was appraised in three parts, two men for the first part, and two women for the second. Both appraisals were on the same day and two of the appraisers were man and wife, so it is possible that the quantity of wares simply required four people. However, although they all dealt with clothing and accessories, the women assessed all the lace while the men assessed all the ribbons so the job may have been divided by speciality. The third, domestic, section was performed three weeks later by yet another pair of appraisers.

It was interesting that the total of £95.10s.8d. for the 62 entries of clothing accessories was only £4 in excess of the total for the mere 19 entries for lace. The most expensive lace was listed as 'lace without Ground att 20s p' yard'. This was most probably *Punto in Aria*, otherwise known as Flat Venetian Point. Caulfeild and Seward note that:

---

<sup>688</sup> BARNABY Thomas, of London. Grocer. 1673 CLRO: Roll 868.

<sup>689</sup> CRITCHLOW John, of London. Clothworker. 1673 CLRO: Roll 927.

<sup>690</sup> COOTE Edward, of London. Leatherseller. 1673 CLRO: Roll 889.

The flat and raised Venetian Points were not worked before 1600, but they gradually superseded the other [Venetian laces] and though costly became the universal decoration for all occasions of dress ...and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that their fame at all declined.<sup>691</sup>

Laces were developed in France in lighter and finer versions of Venetian Points and soon became the fashion. Such gains and losses in popularity may well account for the entry in Coot's inventory for 'old ffashion lace att...01 00 00' and '6 points of Parree...05 00 00'. Coot had two other old fashioned items: a set of childbed linen and some 'old ffashion Gimp things...00 05 00'. He also had a considerable quantity of gloves of different skins and decorative finishes – fringed, embroidered, braided and jessamy, which may mean white or yellow.<sup>692</sup>

Three of the four 1674 inventories were short. Blacksmith Richard Garrett<sup>693</sup> stocked hose worth £32, and had yarns to the value of £27: woollen and worsted, grey and white, probably for making hose. Richard Bolt,<sup>694</sup> described as a grocer, kept lace totalling £154 and a few petticoats and waistcoats for £9. He also was involved in a system of putting out work as the final entry of the laces section was for things forgotten and:

in workmens hands    150 ounces & 3 quarters & 2l' weight  
of Gold & silver & silke amounting to                      ...39 18 11

Mercer John Draper<sup>695</sup> had some expensive goods in his shop: laces valued at £345, ribbons at £364, dyed silk and fringes for £222. Even his buttons – silk and hair, gold and silver - were worth £197. Two beds and the bedding were also in the shop; with over a £1,000 worth of eminently portable goods, security could well be served by having trusted assistants sleeping on the spot. Percival Chandler,<sup>696</sup> a haberdasher in Holborn, also had bedding in use in the shop. For accessories he had only scarves and caps, but his stocks of thread and tapes were, if only moderately valuable when

---

<sup>691</sup> Caulfeild, S.F.A, and B.C. Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework*, (1989), p.513.

<sup>692</sup> OED notes: Jessamy, corruption of jessamine; Jessamine var. of Jasmine, plant with white or yellow flowers.

<sup>693</sup> GARRETT Richard, of London. Blacksmith. 1674 CLRO: Roll 988.

<sup>694</sup> BOLT Richard, of London. Grocer. 1674 CLRO: Roll 950.

<sup>695</sup> DRAPER John, of London. Mercer. 1674 CLRO: Roll 1082.

<sup>696</sup> CHANDLER Percival, of London. Haberdasher. 1674 CLRO: Roll 982.

compared with the previous shop, significant in terms of choice. Sixteen different tapes and fillets added up to £63.10s. and 12 different threads were valued at £102.15s. The usual pins, needles, thimbles, scissors, hooks and eyes, and clasps were worth nearly £19 and 7 varieties of ribbon came to £30. Chandler also had more of the ‘odds and ends’ of haberdashery, in the manner of the country shopkeepers: washballs, cards, busks, hornbooks, paper, and even balls and battledores.

In 1675 Edmund Clay,<sup>697</sup> a haberdasher, also placed emphasis on threads and tapes, which accounted for £103 of his £139 total. Merchant tailor Benjamin Brightwell<sup>698</sup> had only clothes and a few fabrics in his shop. The clothing – mostly women’s wear of which the largest stock was 70 suits of stuff at £30 – totalled £111. An additional £16.13s. worth of riding suits, upper and under-petticoats were in a section noted as having been sold since Brightwell’s death. The inventory of John Eaton,<sup>699</sup> recorded as a vintner, was partly itemised and partly combined. The gloves totalled £137, 40 muffs were £3.10 and scarves were worth £50.14s., but the eight sorts of ribbon were recorded as a total of £294.7s. without further details. The pins, pendants, bobs and wires, bodkins and necklaces were lost within the lists of powder and feathers, washballs, pincushions and pattens. Overall the haberdashery items added up to £577 with a further £200 in fabrics. The same system pertained for the inventory of Adam Butler<sup>700</sup> in 1679. His women’s clothing added up to £151, while unidentified lace, ribbons and buttons brought the total to over £227. Haberdasher George Calcott<sup>701</sup> also specialised in lightweight items and underclothing for men, women and children. His stocks were large, for example the entry for men’s silk hose was valued at £296, and £138 for worsted hose. He had no haberdashery as such, apart from a few belts, garters and buckles, but the total value was over £800.

---

<sup>697</sup> CLAY Edmund, of London. Haberdasher. 1675 CLRO: Roll 1308.

<sup>698</sup> BRIGHTWELL Benjamin, of London. Merchant tailor. 1675/6 PRO: PROB 5 3641.

<sup>699</sup> EATON John, of London, Vintner. 1676 CLRO: Roll 1284.

<sup>700</sup> BUTLER Adam, of London. 1679 CLRO: Roll 1593.

<sup>701</sup> CALCOTT George, of London. 1680 CLRO: Roll 1790.

## 1680-1690

When Jacob Gregory<sup>702</sup> died in 1680 he was owed £3,438. His haberdashery wares added up to £404 – plus nearly £100 worth of tobacco. Eleven sorts of thread, ten different tapes and filleting, seven ribbons, three inkles and five buttons, and a good selection of pins, needles, mantua hooks, buckles, and fob boxes in the small metal wares section, made this a good mixed shop. Like Chandler in 1674, the inclusion of the traditional smallwares – the busks, dice, hawk bells, rings, paper, toothpicks and almanacs, for example - made Gregory's shop a stylish all-round haberdashery emporium.

Wares in the inventory of Nicholas Hitchcock<sup>703</sup> in 1689 were slight, £32 of thread and £12 of tape. However, the inventory of a dyer, William Hunsdon,<sup>704</sup> in the same year, was particularly extensive. There were eleven button types, thirteen sorts of thread, fifteen different ribbons, and thirty laces and fillets. Conversely, Hunsdon had few ready-made items, only white gloves, stirrups and socks, and he stocked no lace but for a small quantity of bobbin lace and a silk lace that came in for the condemnatory 'old fashioned' description. As well as the regular items, the miscellaneous section also contained 2,000 penny and halfpenny balls, 90 pairs of spectacles, Royal Arbour cards, Umber cards, and effigies, together with 'fifteen dozen and an half of Marigold King and Queen.'

In the contrary way of inventories the final two from the London sample were tantalising in their partial details. That of Adam Knapp,<sup>705</sup> described as a haberdasher in 1690, had £299 worth of interesting fabric but no haberdashery, while in the same year the untitled William Ambler<sup>706</sup> had £493 worth of haberdashery in such combined entries as:

thread of all sorts	...166 15 07
galloones & ribbons	...92 09 06
pins combs thimbles and other odd things...	52 03 09

---

<sup>702</sup> GREGORY Jacob, of London. 1680 PRO: PROB 5 1784.

<sup>703</sup> HITCHCOCK Nicholas, of St. Fostes, London. 1689. PRO: PROB4 18370.

<sup>704</sup> HUNSDON William, of London. Dyer. 1689 PRO: PROB4/12867.

<sup>705</sup> KNAPP Adam, of London. Haberdasher. 1690 PRO: PROB4 10087.

<sup>706</sup> AMBLER William of London. 1690 CLRO: Roll 2119.

## Conclusion

Undoubtedly London was the major fashion influence - the Court was based there, and it was the port for the arrival of influential European goods and fashions, including the French fashion dolls that arrived annually from Paris even during the war period. London was both a producer and a prime distribution centre – as can be seen in the next chapter where the examination of diaries and letters throughout the period will demonstrate that the country-based wealthy went, or sent, to London for their stylish clothes, backing these up with locally purchased accessories. London clothes were prized possessions: in her will dated 1729 Agnes Cleasby of Ravenstonedale, Cumbria, bequeathed her ‘double mob cap that came from London’; while Jane Davis in Westmorland, 1739, left to her sister ‘My purple tabby gown, My new London head ruffles and handkercher belonging them..’ However, the preceding 215 inventories, seen over an exceptional 250 year period and covering a wide geographical span, has shown that from at least the 1550s, a choice of haberdashery goods at a range of prices existed in other parts of the country where, conventionally it has been held, only the most basic items were available.

In particular analysis of the inventory sample counters the notion that the greater the distance from London, the less likely would be the presence of decorative wares. For example, Steadman found that the economy of the city of Carlisle was ‘little more sophisticated than that of a large market town with a few extra professional and service trades imposed upon it’ which, he concluded, said much about the poverty of the region it served and the lack of demand there for urban services.<sup>707</sup> Yet despite this apparent lack of sophistication, there was in Carlisle in the 1660s a shopkeeper selling fabrics and haberdashery similar to those sold in Hampshire at the same date, and in 1684 among his many accessories, a Carlisle mercer stocked fancy items that were only recorded outside London in one Sussex inventory. Steadman paints a picture of a Carlisle and Cumbria subsisting in poverty and violence between 1550

---

<sup>707</sup> Steadman, J.O. ‘“A very indifferent small city”: The economy of Carlisle, 1550-1700’, unpublished, University of Leicester PhD thesis, (1988), p.350.

and 1700. My contention is that the presence of mercery and haberdashery wares argue for an interest in personal adornment which survives despite hardship and strife, and that the wherewithal to satisfy that desire – the wares themselves, which up till now have gone mainly unnoticed - should be accepted as playing a more important role both economically and socially than has previously been acknowledged.



# Chapter 5

## Analysis of Newspapers, Trade Cards, Wills, and Diaries

This chapter continues analysis of evidence of the supply and the use of wares into the eighteenth century from a variety of other sources.

### Introduction

Inventories proved to be a most fruitful source of information about the accessibility of haberdashery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and for some areas well into the eighteenth century. However, other sources were required to overlap with the dwindling inventory supply and inform the later period of this study. Over time, due to improvements in printing processes and the gradual spread of literacy, more written and printed material was produced, and more has survived. Towns were expanding, and with shop numbers on the increase, some shopkeepers began to use advertising to attract customers. Various historians of eighteenth-century consumption have claimed that the manipulation of fashion through printed advertising and other marketing techniques was pivotal to its expansion. John Styles suggests that such claims need to be treated with caution. He remarks on the limited use made of visual devices; he points out the pedestrian text of advertisements in the provincial press - which generally merely listed available goods - and notes, with the exception of Matthew Bolton and Josiah Wedgwood, the lack of advertisements for brand name goods or named manufacturers.<sup>708</sup>

### Newspapers

The vendors of wares, as John Styles suggests, do appear to have been slow in exploiting the full potential of newspaper advertising. Joseph Frank identifies the first

---

<sup>708</sup> John Styles, personal communication.

advertisement in an English news book being for a map and appearing in 1624, while *The Faithful Scout*, edited by Border, was the first to illustrate an advertisement in an English newspaper, with a notice of two lost jewels which appeared four times from April 2 1652.<sup>709</sup> Advertising was evidently expected to finance newspapers from quite early on, for the editor of the official weekly *Severall Proceedings In Parliament*, which survived 6 years in the late 1640s, complained he had to spend much time soliciting advertisements - for books about to be published, for lost horses and strayed apprentices.<sup>710</sup> By 1651 the *Severall Proceedings* sometimes accumulated a whole page of advertisements, and by 1653 *The Perfect Diurnall*, as Joseph says, usually ‘ran half-a-dozen announcements of new books, patent medicines, lost articles - at a charge of a shilling each.’ That mix of books, medicine and absconders remained the most recurrent insertions for many years. Advertising the sale of wares was a later innovation.

There were indeed more retailing advertisements in the eighteenth century, but although visitors to London might be astonished by the magnificent window displays of the shops, most of the shops did not advertise in the newspapers, at least not regularly. The shopman continued to place his apprentice at the shopfront to tout for custom and prevent theft.<sup>711</sup> For the most part advertisements drew attention to specific events such as closing down sales:

Miss Hannah Dickens is going to leave off Business and has by her a considerable Quantity of fresh Millinery Goods, which will be sold at Prime Cost, and will continue until all are Sold<sup>712</sup>

the opening or re-opening of shops:

Mercery, Linen drapery, Haberdashery and Hosiery  
T. Grey...intends opening his Shop at the top of High Street on...with a large assortment ...in the present Fashion.<sup>713</sup>

---

<sup>709</sup> Joseph, F., *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, (London: 1961), p.11. Other sources cite notice of a pamphlet in Feb. 1625 describing the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria as the first advertisement.

<sup>710</sup> Joseph, F., *ibid*, pp.201, 219.

<sup>711</sup> Walker, R.B., ‘Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750,’ *Business History*, Vol. XV, 1, January (1973), p.125.

<sup>712</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 9, No.446: 28/05/1750.

<sup>713</sup> *Salopian Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 15, 7/05/1794.

a business changing ownership:

M. Fowke, Milliner, Haberdasher and Mantua Maker [taking over business] in Shrewsbury and has added a Fashionable Elegant Assortment in the above branches.<sup>714</sup>

William Beaumont, Linen draper, Mercer, Haberdasher, Hosier [announces he has taken over the shop of a Hatter in Shrewsbury] Opening with an extensive and fashionable Assortment of Goods of the above description, of the Best Fabrics and from the knowledge he has acquired in some of the most respectable Houses in London and Manchester.

NB Funerals Furnished.<sup>715</sup>

or the arrival of new stock:

Parker and Bull from Birmingham respectfully inform their friends and the public that ...just received from London and Bath a Genteel and fashionable assortment of hats, cloaks, caps, tippets etc., with every other article in the Millenary business.

NB Blond lace, gauzes etc. washed and made up in the newest taste.<sup>716</sup>

Edmund Cresswell [of...Manchester] just return'd from London ...[will be selling]..A Number of Cluster Sleeve Buttons, Moco's and Garnets, in Gold, at £1.16s p.Pair.<sup>717</sup>

The terminology employed was astutely aimed to attract the thrifty: 'sold at Prime Cost,..Business on the very best Terms', and the fashion conscious: 'in the present Fashion,..extensive and fashionable Assortment', together with the reassurance of participation in the London dress scene: '..from the knowledge he has acquired in..the most respectable Houses in London and Manchester,.. received from London and Bath,.. just return'd from London'.

Nevertheless, these were occasional events. Regular notices aimed at attracting day-by-day custom did not often make an appearance. The following type of advertisement, inserted in the *Reading Mercury* in 1740, was therefore an infrequent occurrence:

---

<sup>714</sup> *Salopian Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 28/01/1794.

<sup>715</sup> *Salopian Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 246, 10/10/1798.

<sup>716</sup> *Piercy's Coventry Gazette*, 20/06/1778.

<sup>717</sup> *Manchester Mercury*, No. 462, 23/12/1760.

John Newbery at the Bible and Crown in the Market Place, Reading, Berks keeps a wholesale Warehouse, and furnishes shopkeepers with all sorts of Haberdashery Goods (Such as Threads, Tapes, Bindings, Ribbons, Ferrets, Pins, Needles, Buckles etc) as cheap as in London. And any person by sending a Letter to him will be as well served as if they came in Person.

As an everyday advertisement this was promising, if conservative. Although Mr. Newbery's text was not very inspired, it informed potential customers where to go and what was available. It implied that the goods were similar to those to be had in London but no dearer, inferred that shopkeepers buying wholesale would be able to make a profit on retail, and offered a mail order service.

The bankruptcy auctions that were regularly advertised in the newspapers must have provided cheap stock for such traders as:

Mary and Sarah Holmes, milliners, Are removed from their old shop at ...to.. We have purchased a large Quantity of laces at an Auction, full six shillings in twenty under the real Value, and in higher Prices in greater Proportion. Our stock will be increased which will enable us to do Business on the very best Terms.<sup>718</sup>

Only four months later the ladies moved again:

Mary and Sarah Holmes, Milliners, are...removed...to the Corner House at the top of Temple-Street, sell the following Goods, viz: Laces and Edgings of all sorts from 4d per Yard to 5 Guineas, Robings from 5s. to £5, Lappets of Dresden...Silver and Gold Handkerchiefs...<sup>719</sup>

A fortnight later they inserted the same advertisement with an additional five items, including Bugle Fringe and Millinets, the latter probably Mignonette, a variety of lace or of netting.<sup>720</sup>

---

<sup>718</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 9, No.436, 19/03/1750.

<sup>719</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 9, No. 452, 16/07/1750.

<sup>720</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 9, No. 455, 30/7/1750.

More attractive phrasing was found in the *London Chronicle*: ‘At John Trotters, Linen draper...Ludgate Hill, is open’d a Fresh Parcel of Thick Sprig’d Muslins, very proper for the Lady’s summer wear...’<sup>721</sup> But in the previous year a very different style of advertisement was used by Mr. J. Whitefield Yeates,<sup>722</sup> with a large Assortment of Linen-Drapery and Millinery Goods, ‘(which must be sold off with Speed by Wholesale or Retail)’ who was ‘just come down from his warehouse in London to his Birmingham warehouse in Dale End’. There followed a list of about 80 fabric, haberdashery or accessory items, plus a few silver or plate pieces, silver shoe-buckles, buttons – including Bristol stone buttons – thimbles, and seals. Heavy emphasis was placed upon the up-to-date quality of the wares, ‘Ruffles minionetted and bordered round of the newest Fashions...Variety of Strip’d and flower’d bordered Handkerchiefs of the newest Fashions, from 8d. per piece to 12s., printed linens and Cottons of the newest Patterns, with Variety of dark and light ground Chints; patterns of the newest Fashions, and at the lowest prices...’ At the end of the long list ready money was offered for old gold and silver, or gold and silver lace, and the final urgent line: ‘NB Their stay in Town will be only this week’. The sheer quantity of wares and relentless naming of item after item gave this advertisement a powerful impetus. There was a brusque quality about it, rather at odds with the soft and pretty goods described, but which may have been very effective at urging, even driving customers to the Bird in Hand at Dale End.

Advertisers seemed to overlook the female market. Apart from the above rather businesslike listings of available wares, with the occasional claim to fashion or economy, advertisements making a direct appeal to women’s needs were mainly restricted to some medicines, cosmetics, and a few books. This may be attributable in part to the fact that newspapers were generally read in the coffeehouses attended by the male sex only, and women were less likely than men to be in a position to buy goods or services. Certainly women read the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and other papers, but journals directed mainly to the female reader were a rarity. The *Ladies Magazine* of 1749-53, edited by Jasper Goodwill of Oxford, was said to be designed for the parlour as well as for the shop and counting-house, but its few advertisements, extolling the

---

<sup>721</sup> *London Chronicle*, Vol. 3, No.224, 3/06/1758.

<sup>722</sup> *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, Vol.16, No. 804. 18/04/1757.

merits of books, soap, and candidates for election, were not distinctively feminine.<sup>723</sup> *The Lady's Magazine* of 1759-1763 was edited by Oliver Goldsmith. During its first year it issued a full-page engraving entitled 'Habit of a Lady,' reputed to be the first fashion plate to be printed in a monthly magazine.<sup>724</sup> However, it was not until late in the century that journals and newspapers printed helpful notes for the fashion-conscious, such as the following from the *Salopian Journal*, which would also benefit the haberdashers:

Fashion &c for September

White and purple striped sarsnet hat...trimmed round the crown with a rose-coloured gauze handkerchief, tied occasionally under the chin with a rose-coloured ribband;...Sky-blue beaver hat, trimmed round the crown with a broad purple ribband, forming a large bow in front, a large ostrich feather placed behind the bow and inclining forward...<sup>725</sup>

Advertising costs were moderately high, which may go some way to explaining the lack of weekly inserts. In 1794 the *Salopian Journal* stated that an advertisement could be inserted 'not exceeding 15 lines at 5s. each and 6d. for any 6 lines after'.<sup>726</sup> As in later years different newspapers were aimed at particular sections of society and their advertising profiles reflected their markets. For example, the *Spectator*, a literary daily, was strong on books and playbills; the *Gazette*, consulted by the country gentry for its notices of race meetings, was increasingly a receptacle for legal notices; and the less specialised *Post Boy* was the newspaper in which the middling sort would advertise for the return of their stolen goods, and as readers wonder whether they might buy the stationery, gowns, silks, wine, tea and snuff they saw advertised.<sup>727</sup>

The regular appearance of buttons as identification on the clothes of runaway apprentices, servants and military deserters has already been noted in Chapter 1.2 and

---

<sup>723</sup> See Walker, R.B., 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750,' *Business History*, Vol. XV, 1, January (1973), p.130.

*Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers 1620-1920*, (London: The Times publications, 1920).

<sup>724</sup> Lemire, B., *Fashion's Favourite*, (Oxford: 1991), p.169.

<sup>725</sup> *Salopian Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 37, 8/10/1794.

<sup>726</sup> *Salopian Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 48, 24/12/1794.

<sup>727</sup> Walker, R.B., 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750,' *Business History*, Vol. XV, 1, January (1973), p.120.

elsewhere with the early felony report in the newspaper *Politicus* of 1656 being remarkably similar to those of 50 years later:

... John Smith, a middle sized man with fair hair, a sad coloured Searge sute with two rows of black hair buttons down the breeches...<sup>728</sup>

The point was made that the general populace was evidently expected to be well informed about clothing styles and materials for the descriptions to have been effective. A report from Bridgnorth in 1752 confirmed just how knowledgeable and observant people could be:

Mr. Corfield and Mr. Hayward ..were..attacked..by two fellows..One was..pretty well dressed, having on a Riding Coat, a lightish-coloured Fustian Frock with a small Velvet Collar to it, and Metal Buttons, a Green Waistcoat lined with White, Red Shag Breeches, and a light-brown wig. The other..had on a very short dark Bob Grey wig, a very old dark Shag Riding Coat, a Whitish Cloth Coat patched at both Elbows, a Green Frieze Waistcoat, dirty Leather Breeches and but one Spur...<sup>729</sup>

Clothes and fabrics were sometimes detailed through having been stolen:

[Domestic break-in] near Oswestry – stolen, old brown great-coat with white metal buttons, a drab velveteen coat with white metal Buttons, a fashionable Round Hat, nearly new, with white lining [and name inside]

The hat was indeed new and fashionable at this date. In the *Portrait of a Young Man* painted by Ibbetson in 1790<sup>730</sup> the young gentleman wears one of the earliest examples of the new cut-away frock coats and the fashionable short boots called hussar buskins. He carries his round hat with a tall crown, the style of the hat stolen four years later in Oswestry. In the mid-eighteenth century, at the time when handkerchiefs were so frequently recorded in the Cumbrian inventories, handkerchiefs often featured in the lists of stolen items, such as this one from Gloucestershire in 1751: ‘Stolen goods, [fabrics]... 2 or 3 dozen of Coloured Handkerchifs, five or six India Handkerchiefs (Yellow and Red)..’<sup>731</sup> and another from a shop in Uttoxeter in

---

<sup>728</sup> Joseph, F., *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, (London: 1961), p.256.

<sup>729</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 11, No. 535, 10/02/1752.

<sup>730</sup> Leeds City Art Gallery.

<sup>731</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 10, No.497, 20/05/1751.

1790: ‘..Large Quantity of Cotton Handkerchiefs; a large Quantity of Pocket ditto; and a large Quantity of Silk ditto, black and figured.’<sup>732</sup> Also taken from that shop were: ‘three black silk cloaks ready made, a pair of black satin breeches, a Pair of white satin ditto and Waistcoat, embroidered with Gold spangles’.

The description of what had been available, now stolen, was of more interest to this study than the unadventurous lists of goods for sale. A black leather cloak-bag, ‘stolen or took by mistake’ in Newcastle, 1750, also provided an interesting selection of its clothing contents with a hoop-petticoat on top of four gowns, ‘one Diaper Fly Petticoat with a Fringe around it, each Breadth marked T.E.B. at the top’, 3 double handkerchiefs, 12 coloured handkerchiefs and a muslin one, shifts, loose sleeves, and ‘one Pair of black silk Breeches, new made, with Horn Buttons and lined with leather’.<sup>733</sup>

Doubtless most stolen articles would be destined for pawn or re-sale, either as second-hand garments or rags, and some items, such as the fashionable hat stolen in Oswestry, would be particularly desirable. Clothing was much esteemed as moveable property for ready-cash value at pawn, by rich as well as poor. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century throughout Europe clothing was the most common pledge, and the most frequently redeemed, with women’s clothes more often pledged than men’s. There are several implications here: namely that clothes, particularly for women, were their only, or at any rate most valuable, portable possessions, and that they were important enough to be redeemed once money was available. Since pawnbrokers would only accept items if there were a potential re-sale value, it also signifies a thriving market for second-hand clothing.<sup>734</sup> Newspaper advertisements can thus be used to answer questions about the everyday wear of ordinary people, both those committing the felonies and their victims.

Even with the somewhat uninspired utilization of advertising possibilities, and despite the distance from London, haberdashery smallwares were quite evidently available

---

<sup>732</sup> *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 49, No. 2550, 27/09/1790.

<sup>733</sup> *Aris’s Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. 9, No. 461, 9/10/1750.

<sup>734</sup> Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000), pp.29-30.



and in frequent use as the eighteenth century progressed. Although Whitefield Yates claimed in 1757 that the ‘aprons and ruffles minionetted’ he brought from London were ‘of the newest fashions’, they had been advertised by the Misses Holmes in Birmingham seven years previously.

Prices were only sporadically noted in the newspapers, but where they did appear sufficient choice was offered for even the poor to be able to afford some small decorative item. The Holmes, for example, quoted Laces and edgings from 4d. per yard up to 5 guineas, Whitefield Yates offered handkerchiefs from 8d. per piece to 12s., Paduasoy ribbon at as little as 2d. per yard, and dress lengths of dark and light cotton at 8s. per gown.

## Trade Cards

While newspaper advertising may have been rather lacklustre, trade cards and handbills have much to offer the historian, both for the overt information, and for the deliberate use of subconscious appeal to attract customers. Since each item had to be individually distributed, trade cards and handbills reached a smaller number of people than newspaper advertising, but the need to conserve resources by targeting a specific market may actually have been beneficial. Many cards revealed unexpected insights through choice of wording, design and presentation, and frequently incorporated some form of illustration in or alongside the text. Cartouches, heroic-, classical- or symbolic images, together with signboard linked directions were included more often on the cards than in newspaper advertisements. Button Factor Benjamin Wright<sup>735</sup> of Birmingham, for example, presented his details and address inside an oak leaf wreath – traditionally associated with strength and trustworthiness, and Smith and Greaves,<sup>736</sup> button-makers of Birmingham, used a central illustration of a classically draped female figure with a beehive, symbol of hard work. Coleman, Harris and Coleman,<sup>737</sup> stocking manufacturers of Leicester, illustrated their card with a floral design and two stockings hanging from the decorative corner design, while James and

---

<sup>735</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 28.8.

<sup>736</sup> BCR/LSH Box 15/983.

<sup>737</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.50.

Isabella Thompson,<sup>738</sup> linen drapers and children's clothiers at the Naked Boy in the Strand, inserted a pictogram of their address at the top of their handbill with an oval, scroll-edged cartouche containing a drawing of a naked child. The verso was used as a receipt for purchases of clothing for a child, and since this occurred on such a number of occasions, it seems likely that the use of handbills as receipts was a premeditated piece of advertising.

By a quirk of coincidence during this research, two closely related cards turned up in distant collections. Seen in the Attingham Papers in Shropshire was an illustrated handbill dated 1745 for Francis Flower,<sup>739</sup> Haberdasher and Pattern Drawer of King St. near Bloomsbury Square. This date could be verified for handwritten on the reverse, as in the example above, was a bill for a variety of haberdashery wares running over two months and receipted in June 1745. Just below Mr. Flower's name was printed in brackets: (From Mr. Pinhorn's in Cornhill). Then from Heals Collection at the British Museum came a handbill for Abraham Pinhorn<sup>740</sup> himself. This had been catalogued as dated 1753 but nothing on the bill confirmed the year. The wording on both was initially similar: 'Draws all Sorts of [the Newest fashion'd] patterns, for Brussels, French Quilting, Embroidery & Canvas, with Shades of Silk and Worsted'. Mr. Flower's version, which is the only one with the mention of fashion, proceeded to list a fine variety of materials for needlework, tapes, threads, ribbons, silks, small accessories and finally teas. Pinhorn's handbill was more involved with fabric. Both men used their own names as their insignia; a pincushion for Pinhorn, and for Flower a nicely executed image of a hanging sign, complete with rings and ropes, and depicted on the board a rose stem with a bud, a half open flower and a full blown rose in the centre. Flower would appear to have been an assistant or partner who had learned his trade well, and using what the later centuries would recognise as psychology and consumer research, employed persuasive terminology to attract and keep his customers:

all other materials for any sort of work...; great choice of the best French, Scotch, Dutch... Fine French...Best Belladine...rich Paduasoy...best kidd gloves...all other kinds...at the lowest prices...Fine Teas.

---

<sup>738</sup> SRR, Attingham Papers, 112/6 Box 36/6.

<sup>739</sup> SRR, Attingham Papers, 112/6 Box 35/268.

<sup>740</sup> BM, Heals Collection, 70.117.

What lady could resist the call of such quality, fashion, and foreign sophistication (yet at the lowest prices)?

Martha Wheatland<sup>741</sup> and her sister, milliners and haberdashers in Cheapside, recognised the importance of flattering the customer. Among their ‘great Variety of Italian flowers and Egrets’ they also offered ‘Necklaces and Ear-rings in the most Elegant Taste’, implying that their customers were ladies of sophistication who would appreciate stylish accessories. In 1764 John Scherzberg,<sup>742</sup> a Sacque, Gown and Habit Maker in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, laid emphasis on fashion, having:

Fashionable French Hoops...Fashionable Hats and Bonnets...with a great Variety of Masquerad Dresses entire New, Likewise the New Invented Masks for the Winter Season.

Ten years later Matthew Pearson<sup>743</sup> also of Covent Garden, offered a particularly wide selection of fabrics, some of which were noted as being for Ladies Riding Dresses, ready made clothes and haberdashery. He too stressed fashion with claims for ‘All sorts of Fashionable Ribbons’, and in his concluding phrase: ‘And all other sorts of Haberdashery and Millinery Goods which the Fashions produce’. Thomas Salter,<sup>744</sup> in 1795 made much use of text, though with rather less subtlety, when he produced a sizeable handbill, advertising to his ‘numerous Friends and the Public’ the price reductions he had made at the ‘Cheapest Hat Warehouse in the World’. After a mixture of obsequiousness and conceit, he listed with prices, the variety of types and sizes of headwear available, and concluded that:

T.F. Salter has only to add that the above articles are finished in a Superior Stile of Neatness and Fashion, as will be found so much better in Quality and Cheaper in Price than others...

Funeral draperies and furnishings were evidently good business, for many of the cards mentioned them. Francis Smith<sup>745</sup> concluded his three column listings of

---

<sup>741</sup> BM, Heals Collection, 00.

<sup>742</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 70.78.

<sup>743</sup> BM, Heals Collection, 00.

<sup>744</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.196.

<sup>745</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 70.83.

haberdashery wares available in Aldgate with: 'Also Funerals decently Perform'd'. Bright,<sup>746</sup> a London haberdasher, who advertised in the London Directory pre-1760, after a list of appropriate wares added:

all other kinds of goods in the haberdashery way. NB All sorts of gloves,  
Alamode, Sarsnet...and all other sorts of goods for funerals.

Mr. Callow,<sup>747</sup> advertising his shop in Temple Row, Birmingham, noted that he was 'From London,' that Millinery and Dresses making in the first style of fashion would be carried out by Mrs. Callow, and that he could provide: 'Funerals fully furnished and every Article in Fashionable Family Mourning.'

Manufacturing trades also used cards for advertising purposes. Horn button manufacturer Robert Lea<sup>748</sup> of Suffolk St. in Birmingham, who also advertised in Birmingham Trades Directories in 1781-88 and again in 1800, made 'Rosetts and Thimbles' in addition to his buttons. The card of Thomas Watson<sup>749</sup> of Birmingham carried three messages: his name and address; the fact that he was 'Late Apprentice to Henry Clay',<sup>750</sup> in itself an excellent reference; and 'Royal Patent Paper Button Manufacturer', making it a card redolent of quality and reliability. Thomas Phipson<sup>751</sup> of New St., Birmingham could supply 'Imperial London Pins, Mixed or cases, 2oz each', and in keeping with the named wares, the insignia he used were the British Royal symbols of the lion and unicorn. This seemed to have been a favourite with pin makers; Bundys,<sup>752</sup> pin suppliers in London and Gloucester, also used the lion and unicorn to present their Superior Patent Pins. Royal patronage was an important feature; the card of Joseph Wright<sup>753</sup> of Birmingham had Royal Beasts overhung with plumes above the statement 'Needlemaker to her late Royal Highness

---

<sup>746</sup> BM, Heals Collection, 70.17.

<sup>747</sup> BCR/LSH, Box 9/619.

<sup>748</sup> BCR/LSH, Box 6/415.

<sup>749</sup> BCR/LSH, Box 15/1041.

<sup>750</sup> See Chapter 2. Henry Clay was recorded as 'Japanner to His Majesty,' 1788.

<sup>751</sup> BCR/LSH, Box 14/957.

<sup>752</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.3.

<sup>753</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.17.

the Princess Charlotte of Wales', and William Wylde<sup>754</sup> was simply 'Needlemaker to Her Majesty'.

The supply and maintenance of stockings and hose were undoubtedly a major business. Among many other such suppliers Needham,<sup>755</sup> framework knitter of Fleet Street made: 'Silk, worsted, thread and cotton stockings, Mens and Womens knitted silk gloves and mittings', while William Roberts,<sup>756</sup> Hosier Hatter and Haberdasher of Jermyn St. in 1775 undertook the making of hose 'any Size or Pattern at the Lowest Prices'. On a larger and more commercial scale Mather & Co.<sup>757</sup> had a hosiery warehouses in London, Nottingham, Derby and Leicester. 'Captains of Ships, Shoppersellers to the Public in general', were offered every article on 'Reasonable Terms. Having always some Hundred Dozens Ready Finished'. Roger Basstone,<sup>758</sup> Hosier, Hatter and Glover in 1805, offered the service: 'Silk hose new footed, and Double Heeled Hose made to any Pattern'. At the end of the century N & M Tenniel<sup>759</sup> of London enjoyed the position of 'Silk Stocking Cleaners to their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York and the Duke of Clarence,' for whom they restored 'silk stockings to their Original Colour without using Hot Press or Mangle.' (see Fig.21).

Sharing or copying design and text between companies was not unusual. The information for Anthony Pearce Morris,<sup>760</sup> pin makers of London in 1781, was contained in an oval cartouche with a flying bird in the central medallion, flanked by Corinthian columns and garlands of flowers. In 1788 the same illustration was used by Old<sup>761</sup> of London, then in 1791 Thomas Neate and Co.,<sup>762</sup> employed the same design but with the substitution of Elizabeth I in the medallion. The same phrases occurred too: 'Polished needles that will not cut in the eye' was used by both John

---

<sup>754</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.18.

<sup>755</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.160.

<sup>756</sup> BM, Heals Collection. 00.

<sup>756</sup> BM, Heals Collection. 00.

<sup>756</sup> BM, Heals Collection, 00.

<sup>757</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.149.

<sup>758</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.15.

<sup>759</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.223.

<sup>760</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.10.

<sup>761</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.11\*.

<sup>762</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.11.

Collins,<sup>763</sup> and by Dodson & Son,<sup>764</sup> London needlemakers in 1796, and by William Evans<sup>765</sup> when advertising his Haberdashery, Muslin and Lace Warehouse in 1799, although his needles were additionally ‘Warranted’. Scambler<sup>766</sup> of Birmingham, needle and fish-hook manufacturers – an association of manufacture seen regularly in early inventories – preferred to rely on illustration. With the name and address information centrally placed, a woman was depicted as industry, sitting sewing beside a beehive on the left of the card, while a man demonstrating leisure, was fishing on the right, thus neatly encapsulating the ethics of work and reward, together with a hierarchy of gender specific goods.

The handbill of Thomas Waterhouse<sup>767</sup> was made more interesting by the addition of an illustration in a frame, of a hand with coat cuff and shirt sleeve, holding a bird, while two other birds are to be seen in a tree; the address was of course, The Bird in Hand. Edmund Pelham,<sup>768</sup> who sold haberdashery and clothes accessories at the George in the Strand, had a detailed picture of St. George wearing Roman breastplate and plumed helmet and mounted on a horse, spearing through the head of a recumbent dragon. Credit should undoubtedly be given to these shopkeepers for their recognition of the fact that, with or without literacy, people remember pictures, and that the pictogram of an address would be recognised more quickly than the words when faced with a street full of hanging signboards. The billhead of bodice makers John and Catherine Middleton<sup>769</sup> in the 1730s also reflected their signboard. Their address was the Three Golden Lions and Bodice in Leadenhall Street, and the logo was a woman’s bodice with two lions above the armholes and one centre back. The bodice was drawn in some detail showing stitching and stiffening lines, facings and lacing holes. However, the billhead of Joshua Crickett,<sup>770</sup> who made ‘all sorts of Ferrets, Taffety-Ribbons and Statute Galloons’ from an address ‘In the Inner Court, Bridewell Hospital’, was, perhaps wisely, not illustrated!

---

<sup>763</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.4.

<sup>764</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.5.

<sup>765</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 70.29.

<sup>766</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 97.13.

<sup>767</sup> SRR, Attingham Papers, 112/6 Box 35/815.

<sup>768</sup> SRR, Attingham Papers, 112/6 Box 35/40.

<sup>769</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 112.19.

<sup>770</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 70.25.

Many, if not most, of the trade cards and handbills offered wholesale and retail terms, and these would be the traders who supplied the small shopkeepers of the north and Midlands, sometimes through an agent. George and Robert Wibberley<sup>771</sup> of Liverpool at the turn of the century, were stocking manufacturers keen to stress that they dealt with ‘Merchants and Tradesmen, Wholesale and Retail, on the same terms as their Manufactory Nottingham’. Jabez Hon---<sup>772</sup> of the Shoreditch, haberdasher, listed his haberdashery wares, noted ‘Wholesale and Retail at the Very Lowest Prices’ and concluded ‘NB Country & Town Shopkeepers served at the very Lowest Terms’. Some, such as Sarah Budding,<sup>773</sup> who in 1781 sold a wide variety of clothes from the Three Angels and Star in Lombard Street, expected the goods to go even further, the American Colonies for example: ‘Merchants may be supply’d with any Quantity’s of the above mention’d goods for Exportation at the Lowest Prices’.

Trade cards might be compared to a poem or short story. There could be no waste of space, no superfluous verbiage; only words that conveyed the meaning perfectly could be used. Not all the cards achieved that, but a goodly percentage of them can be seen to have successfully condensed and presented their information in a way that would appeal to potential customers. The survival of so many of these ephemeral items dealing with haberdashery wares suggests the volume of cards in circulation in the eighteenth century, and that being the case, may be indicative of their success as a marketing strategy. The areas into which items of haberdashery fell are confirmed, through the existence of these cards, by the range of businesses with smallwares links, proving that the goods were not a mere marginal interest but an integral part of the development of consumer choice as it impinged on clothing.

Having examined the availability of haberdashery wares in selected parts of the country, the next step was to seek evidence of the wares in use. Part of that evidence quite obviously had to be pictorial and, as discussed elsewhere, since people were first able to use techniques to reproduce what they saw, artists have depicted individuals wearing clothing. As has been seen the choice and use of clothing, ornamentation and accessories is a very idiosyncratic process, but works of art inevitably involve

---

<sup>771</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 72.249.

<sup>772</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 70.42.

<sup>773</sup> BM, Banks Collection, 86.20.

interpretation by a third party. Illustrations, made for a variety of subjective reasons, mediate between the wearer, the clothing and the viewer. The viewer only sees the artist's personal vision; there is no choice but to accept what the he or she chose to depict or omit, and for the most part there was an agenda to be met. Paintings and extant garments were examined in a number of Art Galleries and Costume Collections,<sup>774</sup> and photographs taken where possible, of which only a small selection can be reproduced here to augment the text.<sup>775</sup>

## Wills

Another approach was through documentary sources, either those produced for legal requirements, such as inventories and certain types of newspaper insertions, or those for private use in diaries and personal account books, or conversely in wills, which fall partly into both categories. Time and again wills demonstrated the importance of haberdashery and clothes as bequeathed goods in wills. In 1612 Ralph Barnston,<sup>776</sup> a chapman in Ormskirk, left John Rabyson ‘..one dosen and a half of my best silver plate buttons one Canvas dublet my best paire of Briches my best Jerkyn And my best Cloke and my sworde.’ His brother received most of the remainder of his clothes while the two cousins received ‘..twoe dosen and three silver plate buttons and a further twoe dosen and a half of silver plate buttons.’ This was not the will of a poor chapman, for he expected to have sufficient surplus to leave an endowment of £1 to the poor of six parishes and an additional £1, (at that time the equivalent in value to a yard of very expensive velvet) for the care and repair of the roads. Buttons, and in particular silver buttons, were not yet commonplace commodities and there were no near comparisons within the sample, either in Cumbria or further afield. However, in 1610 a London mercer had silk and silver thread buttons valued at 4s per gross, so these uncommon silver plate buttons may well represent moderate wealth, and were deliberately selected as a parting gift, rather than being included in the inventory and money bequeathed instead.

---

<sup>774</sup> See *Costume Collections and Art Galleries: References and Acknowledgements*, p.391.

<sup>775</sup> See *Illustrations*, pp.347-357.

<sup>776</sup> BARNSTON Ralph, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. Chapman, LRO: WCW 1612 Ralph Barnston.



Edward Mayes<sup>777</sup> of Manchester, a gentleman according to his will, left a few personal items: ‘...an embossed scarlett Cap, and my best blacke Cloake wth' sixe laces about...’ but also indicated that new items should be made or bought:

‘I give unto George Brooke my now servant three yarden of yarde brode woollen Cloathe, Item I give unto Willm' Brooke one newe black hatt, Item I give unto Ellin Brooke wife of the said William and to Margaret his daughter either of them one new hatt...’

Clothing, or the wherewithal to make or purchase it, was part of the understanding between master and servant. ‘Even when there was no testamentary bequest, the heirs of the deceased usually presented his clothing to some favoured servant, since custom decreed that to be the proper course.’<sup>778</sup>

Clothing did not belong to women, but to their husbands. The Earl of Dorset left to his ‘Dearly beloved wife all her wearing apparel and such rings and jewels as were hers on her marriage.’ The wife in question, Lady Anne Clifford, left her belongings and her clothes to her daughter.<sup>779</sup> In 1676 Susanna Barnard<sup>780</sup> of Coventry, the widow of a mercer and secure in her possessions, left to her cousin, among other things: ‘my silke Tabby petticote my Black Taffety gowne, My new Camblet hood & safegard’,<sup>781</sup> while her sister-in-law received a ‘haire Calliminco gowne and redd Scarlett petticote’, and a red shagg petticoat with some money went to a servant.

Agnes Cleasby<sup>782</sup> of Ravenstondale in Westmorland included 13 clothing bequests in her will of 1729, of which a white silk suit and two mantuas were the most valuable items. She also bequeathed her workday clothes, napkins, head cloths and a ‘dubble mob that came from London.’ The illustration *George Vertue and His Wife on Their Wedding Day* drawn by Vertue himself in 1720 shows his wife in a mob cap with

---

<sup>777</sup> MAYES Edward, Manchester, Lancashire. 1621, LRO: WCW 1621 Edward Meaes, (sic).

<sup>778</sup> Hecht, J.J., *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth Century England*, (London: 1956), p.116.

<sup>779</sup> Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000), p.203.

<sup>780</sup> BARNARD Susanna, of Coventry, Warwickshire. Widow, LJRO: 1676 Barnard.

<sup>781</sup> SAFEGUARD An outer skirt or petticoat worn by women to protect their dress when riding –1789. OED/1980.

<sup>782</sup> CLEASBY Agnes, of Ravenstondale, Westmorland, January 1729.CRO: 1729 Cleasby.

double lappets of very fine linen.<sup>783</sup> Thus the clothing accessory item in the Cleasby will, ordered from London and in the same style as one special enough to be worn at a 'middling sort' wedding less than nine years earlier, was still quite up to date when the will was written.

Men were as likely as women to bestow clothing, as in the will of Robert Boys.<sup>784</sup> Presumably realising that it would be needed Boys, of Longtown in Cumberland, left his suit of mourning clothes to be delivered to its recipient 'upon this taking force', in other words, as soon as the will was enacted straight after his death. His other bequests were directed to take place within a month after the death. His list of clothing included a blue straight-bodied coat of blue shag, a brown coat, a red waistcoat, a white flowered waistcoat, his best big riding coat, a pair of buckskin breeches, a hat and two wigs. A Hogarth illustration of *Ashley Cowper with His Wife and Daughter*, painted in 1731, shows one of the earliest depictions of the frock coat, described by a German visitor to this country as 'close body'd without pockets or plaits and with strait Sleeves.'<sup>785</sup> Lacking the side pleats and large cuffs, and worn with a fancy waistcoat shorter than the coat, this trend was first seen in informal country clothing. Boys was described as a yeoman, and ten years after Hogarth's illustration, it was quite feasible for him to have worn and bequeathed such moderately stylish garments. Although haberdashery was not mentioned in the will, his detailed description of the items: 'my blue shagg'd strait Body'd Coat, a white flowered wastecoat, and in particular: my best riding or big coat,' leaves us in no doubt of his interest in clothing and pride that he wore up-to-date garments, despite the distance to London

In March 1746 Anne Bowness<sup>786</sup> of Coulby left in her will, clothing to her brother, sister-in-law, niece, five other named women, and the wife of a named man. She bequeathed 38 articles of dress, including linen shirts and shifts, stays – a best and a worst pair, hats – also with best and worst, seven petticoats, six mantuas, a pair of sleeves, four black hoods, four silk handkerchiefs, a cloak and hood, a pair of shoes,

---

<sup>783</sup> Ribeiro, A., *A Visual History of Costume: the Eighteenth Century*, (London: 1983), p.134.

<sup>784</sup> BOYS Robert, of Longtown, Cumberland. Yeoman, 1741. LRO Carlisle: 1741 Boys.

<sup>785</sup> Ribeiro, A., *A Visual History of Costume: the Eighteenth Century*, (London: 1983), p.138.

<sup>786</sup> BOWNESS Ann, of Coulby, Westmorland. 1746. LRO Carlisle: 1746 Bowness.

and a pair of pattens. That there was more clothing, maybe in worn condition and not fit for gifts, was indicated by the sentence: 'I give... one of my Worst Mantues', when other 'worst mantues' did not appear in the will. Several of the items were identified by their fabric or trimmings: laced hat, laced sleeves, dimothy petticoat, petticoat twice laid about with black, red petticoat laid about with calico. Assumptions were made that the executors would understand the fabric references, and on occasion be capable of making value judgement as to the best or worst garment.

'Clothes have a life of their own; they both are presences, and they absorb other material and immaterial presences,' note Jones and Stallybrass.<sup>787</sup> 'Identities are transferred with the transference of garments... They make present the absence. They materialise memory: "remember me when you wear this."' The items are detachable from the person, yet are of the personage, carrying memory and representation, see for example the poignant use of the handkerchief by Shakespeare in *Othello*. It is significant that silk handkerchiefs – items which, as could be seen in the inventories, had become particularly important in Cumbria – were left by Anne Bowness to her first three, closest, female beneficiaries: sister-in-law, niece, and maid-companion, carefully selected and grouped:

I also give to the said Mary my best laced Hatt one Black Mantue and peticoat one Black Hood one Muslin Apron, one white Dimathy peticoat a Lin Shift my best pair of Stays a Handcirchief a pair of laced Sleeves a pair of Shoos and a pair of pattens.

(see Fig.22)

Bowness' clothes were acting as a tangible sign of affection or thanks, as remembrances of her physical presence, and as a valuable commodity, not to be wasted.

In 1739 Jane Davis,<sup>788</sup> who had a shop and loft in Penrith but lived in Winder Hale, Westmorland, left her wearing apparel, money and interest in the shop to her god-daughter. In a codicil Davis changed some of the apparel left to her sister in the original will:

---

<sup>787</sup> Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000), p.204.

<sup>788</sup> DAVIS Jane, of Winder Hale, Westmorland. 1739. LRO Carlisle: 1739/40 Davis.

My purple Taby Gown My New London Head Ruffells Handkerchif belonging  
them Lawn Sleeves Gold & White Ribon & Gold Girdel New Russell Shows &  
Clogs belonging them ... And I give to ye' sd' Mary Hudleston my Neece My New  
purple Gold Laced short Cloak & my New short Velvet Hood.

Popular from the beginning of the century hoods were worn in many colours and fabrics. Hoods with a cape, often worn over a lace cap, had moved into fashionable dress in the mid-1720s as the décolletage became wider. London dweller Elizabeth Dodson<sup>789</sup> paid 1s. in 1729 for having a short hood made, but by the time of Davis's will the style would still have been quite up to date.

## Diaries and Account Books

It would have been too much to hope that the areas selected for this study, partly on the grounds of their surviving inventories, would also be well supplied with extant diaries. Although there were indeed some useful finds, the net for catching personal papers had to be occasionally cast outside the focus counties, hence the inclusion of two Devonshire diaries and one from Staffordshire.

The published diaries used in this study included, among others, those of Lady Anne Clifford, John Blundell, Abraham Dent, Thomas Turner, and William Stout. These taken together with 9 unpublished diaries and account books that have been transcribed either whole or in part, span the period of the study. The unpublished works range socially from a farmer in 1668, a miller who added notes into a printed almanac in 1783, and a brother and sister of gentry status from Tuckfield in Sussex in the 1780s, to an artist living in London, who became 'painter in enamel' to George III in 1790. One of the most interesting books was the farm and family account of a gentleman farmer in Sussex from 1621 to 1651. There was also a smallwares merchant from Devon in 1724, whose goods were widely varied. Although he was not based within any of the selected regions, his catchment area was wide and included Birmingham and the Midlands. Work on his account book of current

---

<sup>789</sup> NAL 86 SS 77: DODSON Elizabeth, account book. 1728.

transactions will prove particularly useful in further studies of common trading units of purchase and value - elements that are not easy to ascertain from lists of goods in inventories or advertisements.

The earliest of the unpublished diaries, collected at Chichester, is referred to as the Lindfield Account and Letterbook,<sup>790</sup> because the family name is not clear. It includes accounts of monies laid out in building and repairs at Lindfield, Sussex, between 1621 and 1651, and of disbursements to churchwardens of Lindfield 1651. Mostly personal, the household and estate accounts ran from 1648 to 1665, and there are copies of letters written from Lindfield and London on estate and family affairs between 1668 and 1671. Having accepted that like-for-like comparisons would not be possible, it seemed that it might be productive to examine the haberdashery or clothing goods recorded monthly by quarters.

Through the accounts in this parchment bound book,<sup>791</sup> the history of the family unfolded and, briefly, was as follows. At the beginning the family consisted of a husband and wife with a son, old enough to be going to London for schooling, and either two young daughters, or one daughter and a maid or companion, together with other members of the household and labourers on the farm. The wife became ill; medicines and nursing were noted in the accounts, then a funeral and mourning things. About six months later new rings were bought and a wedding paid for. A year after that a midwife was employed, and a doctor, and not long afterwards a new name appeared in the clothing accounts. The second wife survived the birth, though she needed further medical attention, then was returned to her regular place in the accounts and the book finished the year after the older boy went away to his apprenticeship, with the enigmatic entry for 'makeing and trimming ye' gown, and spent at ye' wedding'.

In the first section, up to July 1648, silver galloon was purchased for his wife's petticoat costing 4s., 4 shag hats for a further 4s., and a pair of worsted stockings were 4s.6d. From St. James tide (25th July) to Hollandtide (November 1st) there were

---

<sup>790</sup> WSRO: 18,007, Lindfield Account and Letterbook 1621.

<sup>791</sup> See Fig.23

‘bandstrings for my selfe at 10d.’ and in the next quarter up to Candlemas (February 2nd) just a pair of stockings for his wife at 1s.8d. From Candlemas to Maytide (May 1st) one pair of gloves at 1s.2d., then May to July 1649 a pair of gloves at 1s. and bandstrings for himself at 1s.6d., together with ‘ye’ same day payd to Hab: Allen for hoods & Capps 12s.’ 2 dozen of black buttons were bought for 6d. and a hat at 10s. in the spring quarter, then in Maytide 1650 ‘For 2 payer of Linnen Stockings and making them, 4s.’ 1,000 pins were bought for 1s. in 1650, with inkle and cotton ribbon at 3s., and ‘to my wife for lace..1s.,’ the same price as a pair of shoes for Betty. Shoes in fact were probably the most expensive item in his yearly accounts because although they were not expensive, hardly a quarter went by without the replacement or repair for at least one member of the family and often more. In 1651 Haberdasher Allen was paid 4s. for ribbons and sacking, doeskin gloves were purchased for 2s.3d., and ferret ribbon for 5d. In the summer of 1652 the diarist went to London – and acquired £3.10s. worth of books – and in a little flurry of purchases bought bandstrings at 1s.6d., a petticoat for £1.6s.8d, 2 flannel waistcoats for 10s., 2 pairs of stockings at 4s.6d., and a black satin cap for 3s.

The wife’s illness started in January 1654/5 and she died in March or April. The widower married again sometime before the November of the same year.

Before May 1656 he:

Payd Tho Mathew for a hood a Sattin Cape &	
two payre of Stockinges.....	00 13 04
For makeing my Buttond Coat..	00 05 00

In summer 1656 he bought:

silver lace for a Mantle at 16s.8d.,	
a waskett silk & lace.....	02 00 00
2 Rowles .....	00 02 04 together

and gave to;

Habb: Morley at Hosh .....	00 02 06
for thred & ribbon for my wife ..	00 01 06

2 ounces Red Silk..... . 00 04 00  
 a hood for my wife..... 00 05 06

From Maytyd to S'nt James 165[6]- a selection from his purchases included:

For 6 bands & 6 payre of Cuffes... 00 07 --  
 ffor a Scarfe for my wife & Pegg... 00 06 --  
 ffor a hood for Sarah..... 00 02 --  
 ffor 6 payre of Bandstrings..... 00 05 00

By 1658 expenditure was a little greater, for example:

for makeing my wives gowne.... 00 10 06½  
 ffor 3 yds & half of silver gallone. 00 04 08  
 ffor Jackes Bonnett ..... 00 07 00  
 ffor 6 bands & 6 payre of Cuffs..... 00 10 00  
 ffor a hood for my wife.....00 05 10  
 ffor her Gloves .....00 02 00  
 ffor Jackes Saten Cape.....00 03 06

Cuffs and bands cost 3s. more than two years before, though the cost of the hood had only increased by 4d.

The diarist made a list of his yearly housekeeping expenses beginning in 1648, when the total sum was £39 04 07. The annual totals rose gradually with the exception of 1655, the year in which his first wife died and he remarried, and 1662 when extra money was spent on clothes and shoes, among other things. The total for that year was £239.10s.7d. but was reduced the following year to £170.10s.3d.

Another anonymous diary in the Chichester Record Office was partly concerned with agricultural matters but there were also some clothing and haberdashery references.<sup>792</sup>

One page was headed: Mrs Strong, Bill and included: making a bonnet, 1s.; turning a riding hood, 2s.6d.; turning a cloak, 1s.6d.; ferret, 3d.; silk & ferret, 4d.; making [another] bonnet, 1s; going to Petersfield, 5s.8d. If that last entry were a delivery

---

<sup>792</sup> WSRO: 15,217, Anon Account book 1686-1771.

charge, it was quite high. William Beling's bill included: mending breeks, 6d.; mending a lace, 3d.; 1 dozen buttons, 10d.; silk and twist, 1s.; combs, thread and making a coat, 3s.6d. Including a few yards of cloth and shalloon the bill totalled £1.2s.7d.

From the same small leather-covered book, came a page in the form of a will, which dealt with clothing as gifts, and traditional mourning gloves. Spelling throughout this book was vernacular, and transcription sometimes difficult due to deterioration.

Mis Stamp Desire that [I or J] Ewen to Giv to [Joan Man two] old Goun and Steys and ye old Quelled Cote and the old Riding houd and bonet and one Giney and all the [Larben?] men to have Glove and the wemen that wach with har in the Last Illness and the farmr and there wifes of the Havent and all her God Children to have Gloves.

Gloves in a wide range of prices and qualities could be purchased from mercers, haberdashers, and general shopkeepers such as Abraham Dent<sup>793</sup> in Kirkby Stephen, who regularly noted the distribution and quantity of gloves, that being one of his routine responsibilities at funerals.

The account book of Edward Sneyd<sup>794</sup> of Stafford, described as having a drapery or textile business, ran between 1716 and 1727. The front of the book dealt with named but not detailed accounts, but in the back of the book, dated 1722, was an aide memoir shopping list written vertically:

What goods to buy in London  
1 Peice Broad Lutestring  
it must be black  
Not Aney Mantua silks  
1 Peice Blew Lutestring  
1 Peice Cherry Do'  
1 Peice wth' Thread Satten  
1 Peice Blew Satten  
all theese Must be Plaine/  
Not Stript for we have/  
Stript of Most Coullers.  
Pertians of all Coullers

---

<sup>793</sup> Willan T., *An Eighteenth-Century Shopkeeper, Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester: 1970).

<sup>794</sup> SRO Hand Morgan Collection, D1798 HM 24/1.



Except Cherry  
1 Peice Narrow Wtt' Sarsnet  
About 2/4d p. yd.  
all Sorts of Bull' [or Bell'] Sowing  
& Sticing Silkes beshure  
to have Litt' Snuffe  
No Glovers Silke.  
What Grocery  
Enquare the price  
of all sorts

There follows a list of grocery to purchase, or not:

Noe Currans nor Rasins of any Sort  
1 li of Jame' pepper if at 8 or under...  
4 li Cloves if at 10s.3d.  
7 li Nutts if at 10s.3d.

Then returns to desirable fabrics:

1 Do' at 33s.  
1 Do' Superfine 40s.  
No Blue  
Nor Scarlet  
1 pe or two of/ pritty flower'd  
Different colours  
at 26s.  
1 fines Bla  
Searge deinm's  
3s. or 4s.  
½ ps blue same price

The diary of Mr. Southcomb of Devon was a small leather-covered book, roughly eight inches by three inches, which recorded the accounts of a mercer in the South West of England around the year 1724. He apparently supplied goods to merchants in a wide area of Devon and Cornwall and even included such far-flung places as Birmingham in the Midlands. His range of wares was impressively varied - from fabric and trimmings and all manner of smallwares like hooks and eyes, to books and toothbrushes, spectacles and hourglasses. The book was arranged in sections, possibly divided into monthly records. The repeated pattern was of several closely written pages dealing with a list of items and their costs supplied to named individuals, followed by total monthly accounts owed by the purchasers. There were also some details of Mr. Southcomb's itinerary when he went on a selling trip, and records of 'commissions' carried out on behalf of individual customers. The fact that

these records were concerned with current transactions was of particular interest, as they demonstrated common trading units of purchase and value. This type of information is denied us both in the post-mortem probate inventory, in trade accounts which deal only with total stock, and in household and personal accounts which itemise only domestic consumption.

The accounts of Elizabeth Dodson<sup>795</sup> began in January 1728/9 and continued into 1730. The first part was taken up to a very large extent with the dressing and adornment of her person – having clothes made and altered, fabrics, accessories and haberdashery purchases, and personal services such as payments for washing garments and hair cutting. The second part of the book began in November 1730 with the heading ‘Since Marry’d’. Small clothing costs mostly disappeared to be replaced with the costs of hiring coaches, losing at cards, paying servants, purchasing jewellery, and rather more expensive clothes expenditure such as ‘pd Mr Velenton for black silk gound & coat ...05 10 00.’

It was noticeable how even this diarist, who seemed to come into the category of moderately well off, continually had to work at keeping her clothes cleaned and up to date through alterations. Between April and June she spent £3.18s.2d. on dying, cleaning, washing and altering garments. One white satin gown and its coat were cleaned and then designs were drawn on them which, from the silk and needles in the same entry, were possibly to be embroidered by herself or her maid.<sup>796</sup> She spent 8s.3d. on small haberdashery wares in the April-June quarter, buying ferret, pins, tape, ribbon and shoe lace, and 7s.5d. in the next quarter on similar items but no pins. As in the Lindfield accounts shoes were not terribly expensive, but were frequent purchases or repairs. Dodson’s shoes averaged about 6s.6d. a pair – only 6d. more than her stockings - and she had two pairs per quarter. She had a similar number of pairs of clogs, which were somewhat cheaper at around 4s.6d. a pair. These were wooden soled over-shoes to raise the wearer above the wet and protect the ordinary shoes, sometimes made to match the shoe over which they would be worn. Since both clogs, also called pattens, and shoes for women were frequently made of fabric,

---

<sup>795</sup> NAL 86 SS 77: Dodson, Elizabeth, account book. 1728.

<sup>796</sup> See the trade cards of Francis Flower, 1745, and Abraham Pinhorn of London, 1753, mentioned above.

haberdashery items were employed in their construction and decoration, and indeed Dodson had a pair of blue velvet clogs with trimmings.

The account book of Matthew Lee<sup>797</sup> began in 1733 with the account of a year-long trip to Holland to improve his knowledge of the language and to further his father's business connections. He listed the garments he took with him, and the small clothing items he bought while abroad – gloves, slippers, handkerchiefs, another periwig (his third) and four under waistcoats. His expenditure from February to April in 1741 on clothes and haberdashery totalled £23.5s.11d. In February he bought cambric for ruffles and stocks, buttons for 10 shirts at 1s.5d. and 4 dozen gold buttons for 11s.6d. A silver waistband buckle cost 6s. and 2½ yards of gold lace came to 15s. A set of metal buckles cost him 3s.6d. in March, when he also purchased sleeve buttons, 5 dozen coat buttons and 1½ dozen breech buttons for the sum of 8s.10d. Waistcoat buttons and sewing thread totalled 1s.6d. in April. During this period he also spent just over £5 on tailors' bills, 12s.6d. on footwear – including a pair of single channelled pumps for dancing - a grizzle wig for £1.15s., and the most expensive item, '£11.6s. for an embroidered waistcoat buttons &c.'

This gentleman, aged somewhere in his thirties, was well informed about the purchases he made. Possibly something of a dandy, Lee was well in the fashion with an embroidered waistcoat and matching buttons, with the gold lace and buttons, the grizzle (grey) wig, and the cane he bought in Holland which, says Boucher, no elegant Londoner could be without 'hung from a ribbon wound round his third coat-button'<sup>798</sup>

Mr. Knowsley<sup>799</sup> of Devon made a small number of brief annotations in a printed almanac in 1750 and 1751. The impression gained by the unpleasant contents of some of the annotations and the coarse appearance of the writing, was of a rough character, so the following entries tend to confirm the opinions of foreign travellers in Britain that even labourers wore wigs.<sup>800</sup>

---

<sup>797</sup> DRO: 2889 F/1, Account Book of Matthew Lee 1733.

<sup>798</sup> Boucher, Francois, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment*, (New York: 1967), p.322.

<sup>799</sup> DRO: Z19/36/17, Knowsley's Diary, 1750.

<sup>800</sup> Wig wearing by teen-aged apprentices was noted in the newspapers advertising absconders.

August 18th 1750 paid/ John Cockram for one  
quarters Shaving two Shilling  
Likewise fourteen Shilling for a New Wigg

And in the following year:

Re'cd A New wigg of Mr Cockram August 8th 1751  
paid one guinea for the above  
wigg NB paid 2/6 for one quarter Shaving

The diary of Thomas Turner,<sup>801</sup> a shopkeeper in Sussex, was a particularly useful one for the light it cast on a number of eighteenth-century methods and procedures. Participation in the production of some of the wares was evidently an accepted part of the business. In February 1755 Turner recorded cutting out 'round frocks.'<sup>802</sup> In November he paid Elizabeth Mephram 10s. for making up 10 frocks, and in the same month delivered a further 10 cut out, together with the thread and buttons for sewing them up. Cutting garment pieces ready for sewing has always been a skilled task, requiring an understanding of fabric and how to manage several yards at a time, the ability to place a pattern economically and to use scissors effectively, and the space in which to perform the task. Since fabric was never so cheap that it could be wasted on practice, outworkers such as Mrs. Mephram were unlikely to have learned the art of cutting, but would be adept at sewing-up the garments.

Gloves played a large part in Turner's routine. In order to bill his customers he kept detailed records of the gloves and other mourning goods that he handed out at funerals in his undertaking capacity. The funerals he served could be as small as two mourners, or as large as the one that required 106 pairs of gloves and 8 hatbands to be distributed. The gloves themselves were made of shammy (chamois) which, at 2d. a pair were the cheapest, lamb, white lamb, glazed lamb, kid, white kid, black ribbon bound, or looped. All were made in sizes to fit men and women, youths and maids. White gloves were for the funerals of virgins and children; at one child's funeral he

---

<sup>801</sup> Vaisey, David, *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765*, (Oxford, 1984), pp.5, 17.

<sup>802</sup> Labourer's outer garment, a smock.

recorded, poignantly, only two pairs of white kid. Gloves too were made up for him by an out-working glover. In May 1758, either at Nutley Fair or Uckfield Fair, Turner bought 12 chamois skins, for which he paid 10s. The making of 36 pairs of inseamed and outseamed gloves in tan leather cost 17s.6d. These costs were added to the other funeral expenses, which included crepe or alamode hatbands, favours and wine for the wake, which he also arranged. He noted in May 1757 attending the funeral of Master Marchant, at which eighteen pairs of glazed lamb gloves were given out, then in June he recorded being paid in full by the deceased's daughter, £3.16s.6d.<sup>803</sup>

A system of payment part in cash, part in kind, was also illustrated by Turner's diary:

Paid John Jenner, hatter at Hailsham, in cash and goods £1 01 9d in full for the hats received by him today: 3 men's felts at 3s, 3 do. at 2s 6d, 3 boys do. at 21d

and again, this time on his own behalf:

Paid ... in cash 8s.6½d. and goods 6s.5½d. [Total] £1.5s.0d in full for a new wig received today £1.1s.0d and new mounting an old one 4d.

Turner also used goods as presents and payment for services:

Gave Tho. German at Mr. Porter's 1 hat, value 7/6 it being in full for 1 year's winding up the church clock, at Easter next.

and at the time of his mother's funeral:

Our late servant went home and we made her a present of a handkerchief, value 13 1/2d, for her trouble in coming over.<sup>804</sup>

Turner was evidently interested in the world, especially as it touched on his business; for example, he wrote about reading notes on Boyle's Lectures concerning the manufacture of gilt thread:

---

<sup>803</sup> Vaisey, David, *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765*, (Oxford, 1984), pp.98, 102.

<sup>804</sup> *Ibid*, p.180.

so slender a wire may be drawn from gold that from one ounce of gold a wire may be drawn 777,600 ft in length, or 155 miles and a half.<sup>805</sup>

His concerns over trade were evidently heartfelt. In August 1756 he wrote:

Oh how dull is trade, and how very scarce is money! Never did I know so bad a time before. To think how much I have due to me and cannot get in! What shall I do? ..I that used at this time of year to take £15 or £20 a week, and sometimes £25 or £30, now seldom take above £5 or £10. To what can I attribute this loss in trade. I sell my goods on cheap as I ever did, and buy them as well, so far as I can judge; and my design is to use my customers with as good manners as I ever did.

And I do my utmost endeavour so far as I know how to do it, but trade in all places, and more particularly in a country place, is very precarious.<sup>806</sup>

No mention was made there of competition, the complaint was that trade was poor. Eight years later business must have improved somewhat for, despite competition from a travelling salesman, Turner was rather more philosophical than despairing:

1764 September 6

This day came to Jones's a man with a cartload of millinery, mercery, linen, drapery, silver etc., to keep a sale for two days. This must undoubtedly be some hurt to trade, for the novelty of the thing (and novelty is surely the predominant passion of the English nation, and of Sussex in particular) will catch the ignorant multitude, and perhaps not them only but people of sense who are not judges of goods and trade, as indeed very few are, but however at it is it must pass.<sup>807</sup>

It is surprising that Turner recorded this event as being a novelty. Such a sale had been advertised in the Birmingham newspaper seven years previously,<sup>808</sup> and the impression gained from several other sources for the period covered by Turner's accounts indicated that trade was quite brisk. The aside from Turner remarking on the English and 'Sussex in particular' passion for novelty surely indicated that interests and fashions were changing, and therefore that new items were being purchased. This is perhaps a salutary warning about viewing documents in isolation. Seen alone, Turner's account could give a more negative impression of trade than was actually the case in the rest of the country. His view of trade may have been coloured by his

---

<sup>805</sup> *Ibid*, p.19.

<sup>806</sup> Vaisey, David, *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765*, (Oxford, 1984), p.61.

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid*, p.302.

<sup>808</sup> *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Whitefield Yates, 1757.

experience of a shop not thriving with the times, simply because he was old fashioned and did not approve of progress.

Abraham Dent<sup>809</sup> was born in 1729 and died in 1803. He was a shopkeeper in Kirkby Stephen, Westmorland, son of William Dent, also a shopkeeper and wine merchant. Little is known of Dent's early life but he and his father were in partnership for a time, being addressed as 'Messrs. W. Dent & Son'. Abraham kept meticulous records of his business between the years 1756-80. These comprise a ledger of purchases for the shop 1756-77 with names and addresses of suppliers; a daybook of credit sales from the shop 1762-1765; and another of sales from 1767-80 dealing predominantly with stockings.

Although they sold goods that can be categorised as groceries, the Dents, father and son, were not called grocers but were variously described as mercers, merchants, and wine merchants. Tea, sugar, dried fruits, tobacco, and spices featured prominently in the accounts, together with a range of household necessities such as flour, hops, soap, and starch, patent medicines, paper, books, and magazines. Other goods covered a range of requirements, from gardening and building equipment to items of clothing and cutlery; he also regularly supplied gunpowder to several companies.

Dent sold small items of ready-made clothing: gloves, assorted handkerchiefs, and knitted stockings. He was both manufacturer and retailer of hosiery; he took specific orders for hose, bought wool with which to supply the local hand knitters with yarn then collected and dispatched the finished work. Most of his orders came from two army contractors in London, and were for different types of military stockings; soldiers and sergeants hose, marching regiments hose, and guards hose, although other types, such as ribbed yarn hose and loop worsted hose, were also supplied. Quantities varied, but the prices Dent charged remained fairly constant over twenty years. Business was brisk in the 1770s, when an individual order could be for as many as 7,000 pairs of marching regiments hose at 12d. a pair, but sales declined considerably in the 1780s.

---

<sup>809</sup> Documents relating to Abraham Dent, Shopkeeper, Kirkby Stephen, at Cumbria Record Office, Kendal. (Acc.1474) WDB/63/1-68.

Dent stocked everything needed for making garments, and his records are informative regarding the quantities and requirements for constructing clothes. For example, in 1764 the same elements of superfine black cloth, shalloon, dimity, buckram, pocket fustian, canvas, thread, tape, twist, coat and breast buttons, were purchased in different quantities for two clerical gentlemen, at a cost of around £3.5s.11d. By comparison, thickset, shalloon and flannel were bought for making servants' clothing at a total of £1.15s.7d.

Dent's daybook of credit sales showed that his shop customers came from a wide social range. The middling sort predominated, with a number of clergy, doctors, and schoolmasters, but purchases were made by consumers from both ends of the social spectrum; tea and paper were bought by Sir George Dalston of Smarldale Hall, whilst sugar, treacle, flour and candles were bought by labourer James Petty.

It might be true to say, as Willan<sup>810</sup> suggests, that Dent was 'too versatile', combining 'too many roles', his connections too wide, and his social contacts too broad, for us to view him as typical of a small town shopkeeper in the 1700s. It may be, however, that his energetic hard work and his innovative diversification make Dent, unlike Turner, particularly representative of the rising class of retailers whose entrepreneurial spirit made new demands of their suppliers; demands which stimulated and fuelled the growth of consumerism and industrialisation.<sup>811</sup>

The customer account book of Mary Medhurst, draper of St. Mary Bourne, in Hampshire<sup>812</sup> illustrated the precarious nature of small shopkeeping, and indeed small-scale manufacture, in the eighteenth century. Let one entry demonstrate: In October 1767 and over the following months customer Mary Testeco bought, among other things, dowlas, check fabric, a handkerchief, hose, yardwide and bays totalling £1.16s.9d. On October 10<sup>th</sup> 1768 she paid £1.1s., leaving a balance of

---

<sup>810</sup> Willan, T., *An eighteenth-century shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester: 1970), p.147.

<sup>811</sup> Extracted from Hamilton, P., 'Abraham Dent', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: 2004).

<sup>812</sup> MEDHURST Mary, St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire. 1762-80. Draper's Account Book, HRO: 96 M 82 PZ25.



15s.9d. During the next year she purchased 3 more pairs of hose and more fabrics, including 7 yards of expensive 'Chince Cotton' at £1.4s.6d., so her account totalled £2.16s.3d. In October 1769 she again paid a guinea, leaving a balance of £1.15s.3d. By January the debt had increased to £2.11s.9d., including a loan of 2s. 'use money,' of which she paid £1.15s., leaving a balance of 16s.9d to carry forward. Virtually all the accounts in the book were of this nature, and were never quite cleared. The individual purchases were tiny, but Medhurst had to maintain a range of wares from manufacturers, whose lives also depended on some payment being forthcoming.

A tally of the goods in Medhurst's shop was taken in the way of an inventory over a period of time, 1762-1764, although with the proviso that there were no doubt cash sales of which no record exists, and that there may have been other goods in the shop which were unrecorded, having not been sold during this two-year period.<sup>813</sup> The book shows 27 types of ware, 13 of which had multiple, differently priced entries, plus a further four examples of ready-made clothing, with additional sizes and qualities, totalling 79 items altogether. Lawn, priced at 5s. was the most expensive fabric in the accounts during this period, followed by the chintz already mentioned. Of ready-made items Medhurst sold one pair of breeches at 19s., and a cardinal<sup>814</sup> at 14s.6d. She stocked hose in nine prices, ranging from 1s.10d. a pair to 3s.6d. for a black pair. There was also a range of handkerchiefs, with nine prices between 13d. and 2s.10d. Haberdashery included 4 types of binding, from ½d. a yard up to 2d., lace at 8d. and Nonesopretty at 1d. per yard. Quality bindings were at 1d. and 2d., ribbon at 6d., tape, thread and worsted thread at 1d. each.

No buttons or any other form of fastening were sold during this period, but Medhurst was described as a draper, with a little grocery stock recorded in the back of her account book, so it is not surprising that she had only a limited quantity of haberdashery. Observing the merchandise as it left the shop in tiny increments of a few pence at a time, as opposed to seeing the in-bulk calculation of goods remaining

---

<sup>813</sup> See *Appendix 3*, Mary Medhurst, Shop Goods, 1762-1764, p.333.

<sup>814</sup> OED/1980 A short cloak worn by ladies, originally of scarlet cloth with a hood. 1745, however Fairholt, p.113, claims the cardinal became fashionable about 1760 – the date of this account book.

after the death of the shop keeper, showed more clearly how important each transaction was to the survival of a business.

Rather different qualities and quantities of wares were involved in the accounts of David Norie,<sup>815</sup> a tailor of London. The same system pertained, of course, with customers running up bills over a period of several months before settling the account, with often only a part payment being made. For this study the system has the advantage of being able to follow a named account over a period of time. The first account of Mr. Goodman and his two sons ran from March 1769 to October 1771, during which time two payments were made totalling £18.7s.10d. A breakdown of their dealings shows that of the 33 entries in the book only 10 entries were for new purchases. Clothes were cleaned on 8 occasions, restructured or altered 7 times and repaired 13 times. The boys were particularly hard on their clothes:

May:

To putting Large Seatings in two pair Stocking Brehs' 00 03 00

To Seating a pair Do for ye Oldest Boy 00 01 00

June 2:

To Seating a pair Cloth Do for ye youngest Boy 00 01 06

Jy 24:

To Seating a pair Do for the Oldest boy 00 01 06

Although Norie noted both a 'fall down velvet' and several fashionable stand-up collars, he did not appear to make use of the braids and edgings that are evident in some illustrations, neither did he charge for decorative embroidery, and the fabrics he was supplying would be best categorised as good plain materials:

Supr'fine Cloath Ingrain and Supr' Mixed Cloath gr'grain at £1 per yard; Sup'fine Brown Cloath, and Supr' fine Blue Cloath at 18s.6d. per yard

---

<sup>815</sup> Norie, David. Account Book, 1768-[1819] NAL: Ms.L.1994\1 86.22.148. A total folio of 160 pages, with thumb-index listing of customers, the self numbered pages run from 2-107, December 1768-Janauary 1800, then pages 107-122 cover 1800-1809, and continue unnumbered to 1819. Son William took over the business early in the nineteenth century.

Norie also used green duffel – a rather coarse napped woollen cloth; and shalloon - a closely woven woollen material chiefly used for linings. Some of the customers supplied their own fabrics, evident from the accounts that covered just the necessities of construction, and making-up charges.

Mr. Goodman had several alterations made to his clothes that could be attributed to the influence of fashion:

Cleaning a light Blue Suit, Cutting it Shorter; Scouring and making  
Black holes in a Coat and waistcoat, Black velvet Collar for ye Coat;  
To putting a Skirt in a Surtout Coat

However, the entry for: 'Letting out two Waistcoats', may well have been related to comfort rather than fashion. The 'black holes' were probably embroidered buttonholes to go with the new black velvet collar. This is demonstrated more clearly in a different account:

To Making a Suit of Clothes	00 18 00
To 43 Holes Embroidered in Do @ 1/7 p' hole	03 08 01
To 29 Coats 28 Breast Butts Gold @ 8 p' Doz	01 08 08

Not all buttons would require matching buttonholes. Depending on the chosen style several buttons could be attached to the cuffs, pocket flaps, at the top of the skirts or back vent, or even extended down the front of the waistcoat without corresponding functional holes. The use of buttons on men's clothing was considerable at this date with both coat and thigh length waistcoats being buttoned. 7 entire suits of clothes were made for the 11 accounts in this 1769-1771 section of the Norie book, and the average had around 48 buttons per suit, the greatest being 63. Norie detailed the use of gold buttons at 8s. a dozen, best gilt at 2s., plated at 1s.6d., with French Gold Basket buttons at 6s. Basket buttons were popular and several sets of 8 were used, for which he charged 2s.6d. Old gold buttons were noted once at 1s.6d. but with no clarifying reference as to whether that meant colour, antiquity, or re-use. Many were unspecified, but one account noted 'Butts of the same Colour', on a Brown Cloth suit.

Close examination of extant garments of the eighteenth century revealed that a number of haberdashery wares were used in every garment. Several sizes and types of thread for different parts of the construction, silks for areas that would be seen, tape and bindings for raw edges; all were included by Norie under the comprehensive charge for 'Silk, twist, Buckram & Canvas' that appeared in most of the accounts. He makes no note of his expenditure on all the other necessary items – the needles, pins, chinks, scissors, and small metal wares that would be essential to a tailor's establishment. For all its useful detail this account book failed in that crucial aspect.

The account book of Mr. Nollis<sup>816</sup> of Hampshire was helpful in filling in just those details. In 1768 he listed the requirements for:

Making up a Coat

4 yds shalloon, 1 yd Dimitty/sleeves, 4 buttons, 3/oz silk & twist, 1/2 yd Buckram, canvas and tape, 13 buttons.

which included the tape omitted by Norie. For a Great Coat Norie used '2 yds 3/4 Bath Beaver for a Coat & waistcoat @ 7/6 p' yd ...01 00 07½', while Nollis noted:

Oct: For a Great coat viz	£ s d
2 1/2 yards of Bath Claret cloth 7/6	00 17 09
2 doz buttons	00 01 08
silk	00 01 01
1/2 yard glazed holland	00 00 10
14 yards binding @ /2	00 02 04

Nollis may have been a shilling out, but he did record the use of binding. For his servant he noted:

Billy's Coat and Waistcoat  
 Scarlet Cloth  
 8 yds binding  
 1 doz coat buttons  
 9 waistcoat do.

---

<sup>816</sup> Nollis Account book. HRO: IM44/168.

1/2 oz silk & twist  
1/4 yard yard shalloon  
about 1 yd 1/2 Dimitty

The three account books of Miss Grainger, (?)<sup>817</sup> sister of John Grainger of Tuckfield in Sussex, were soft paper books that began in January 1778 and ended in September 1787. She was meticulous about her entries, noting not only her clothing purchases, small household costs and bills for services, but also the cost of letters, of pence gifted to ‘a poor woman; old man; black boy’, gratuities to servants, sweets and the occasional ‘Treat’. The books were suitable for database analysis once the domestic details were discarded, and some of the results were quite unexpected.<sup>818</sup>

Miss Grainger purchased gauze on a surprising twenty-six occasions, sometimes singly, other times in association with other things – ribbons, lace and gloves for example. Prices varied from as little as 6d. to £2.16s., with Scotch gauze and black Scotch gauze at around 1s. She also bought a considerable quantity of ribbon, which entered into the accounts thirty-six times. It appeared as black, coloured and silk, not usually itemised, but on one occasion 6 yards cost 3s. The largest sum Miss Grainger paid for ribbon was £1.11s., but she usually spent just a few shillings. Nineteen purchases of gloves were recorded over the nine years of these accounts. Where details were given, such as:

two pr' of Beaver Gloves...00 03 06  
two pr' of Tan do' ... 00 03 00

the prices are such that the many entries between 2s. and 15s. indicated that the 19 records of gloves could easily have totalled well over 50 pairs.

Twice Miss Grainger paid ‘Lady Hales’ for silk handkerchief pieces, at £1.5s. and £1.10s., but she also bought a worked handkerchief at 18s.6d., six coloured ones for 15s. and a Barcelona handkerchief for 4s. Other items obtained from Lady Hales were gimp, lace, a hat, Manchester muslin and stockings. Stockings might also have

---

<sup>817</sup> WSRO: Add. Ms 30,738, Add. Ms. 30,739, Add. Ms. 30,740.

<sup>818</sup> See *Appendix 5, Accounts of Miss Grainger, Tuckfield, Sussex, 1778-1787*, p.335.

been expected to appear more frequently in this lady's accounts than just five entries, even if several pairs were bought together. 8 pairs cost £2.2s on one occasion, and another time two pairs were only 5s., but in December 1780 she purchased a pair of 'Collon' (perhaps Cologne) stockings for a rather expensive £1.5s. Ten gowns were recorded in the accounts, although entries for mantua maker's bills probably indicated a further four. Two were of linen, one each of Morea, stuff, and a striped fabric, while a piece of dove coloured satin costing £7.11s.10d. for 20 yards was probably made into another.

Miss Grainger purchased a number of examples of smallwares such as thread, tapes, and edgings, together with pins that were noted on 13 occasions. While acknowledging that some small items have less appeal than others, and were more likely to be omitted from accounts, it appeared that Miss Grainger was so careful of her finances that all purchases had a good chance of being included, whatever their nature. The pins, for example, were recorded in sums of as little as 4d. and 5d., so the single entry for the purchase of buttons at 1½d. was quite likely to have been the only time she bought them. Admittedly she noted paying haberdasher's bills on four occasions, together with bills from a mantua maker, a milliner and a draper, so buttons could have been obtained in that way, but nevertheless initially it seems to be a surprising absence of such a universal item. At this time prodigious quantities of buttons were used on men's clothes, as was seen in the accounts of Norie<sup>819</sup> the tailor, but although some outer garments might be buttoned, women's wear was generally laced, tied or hooked. The Grainger accounts appear to belong to a lady who had her own establishment, although in the vicinity of her brother, to whom she sometimes gave money for settling bills on her behalf, and while it was evident that she performed small sewing tasks – or had her maidservant do them - it would appear that Miss Grainger, and women like her, had little use for buttons. This fact, made evident through this account book, must have been a matter of much concern to the button makers.

---

<sup>819</sup> NORIE, David. Account Book, 1768-[1819] NAL: Ms.L.1994\1 86.22.148. See above.

It is interesting to note how the table<sup>820</sup> of clothing-related articles purchased by Miss Grainger over a period of nine years, demonstrates a level of interest in fashion appropriate to one who, from her failing writing and purchases towards the end of the books, was probably reaching the end of her life. For example she had, but not to excess, the gauze and ribbon, the muslin and lace of fashion, but while she bought a 4s. straw hat she did not record purchasing one of the large confections of the mid-1780s. In Vickery's study of a group of "polite" eighteenth century northern families and their contacts, she showed that it was not only the young who were expected to dress modishly in the eighteenth century, but that different fashions were thought proper for different age groups. One lady wrote approvingly of 'Women of Sixty and Seventy just as anxious about [fashion] as formerly Girls were at 18.'<sup>821</sup>

It would have been pleasing to be able to conclude this section with an analysis of the diary of a working man, but sadly the late-eighteenth century accounts of an unnamed miller from Sussex included little detail when he mentioned the purchase of new items.<sup>822</sup> He bought a hat for 12s. and a Great Coat for £1.15s. at the beginning of 1788, with another hat for 17s. in the September, together with 25 pins, which cost 1s.6d. A new great coat was purchased a year later and a pair of nankeen breeches in 1790, both unpriced in his diary.

## Conclusion

All these documents, all these lives, had a common thread running through them. From the wealthy to the most humble, clothing was an interest and a concern. It was the livelihood of some, the abiding attraction of many, while for others it was a basic requirement, but none of the people in these accounts was indifferent to clothes. Whether buying clothes as gifts, as did Richard Crosse,<sup>823</sup> painter in ivory:

1778 Pd Allanson's Bill for a Gown which

I made a present of to my sister RC

05 05 00

---

<sup>820</sup> See *Appendix 5, Accounts of Miss Grainger*, p.335

<sup>821</sup> Vickery, Amanda, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, (London: 1998), p.177.

<sup>822</sup> Milling, farming and personal account of a miller, 1783-91. WSRO: 34,357.

<sup>823</sup> Cross, Richard, V & A: 86.GG.22-26.

Pd Woods bill for a gown for my mother of		
which I made her a present	RC	02 17 06
Pd for two pair of stockings I gave to my Brother James		01 01 00

or, like Squire Purefoy's mother,<sup>824</sup> requesting items from London through an agent:

I desire you will send me two Caroline Hatts at a fashionable size for the servants...

or even, like Lady Murray<sup>825</sup> in 1792, ordering:

..Half a yard of Fleecy hosiery	00 02 09, and
...Thread for making do.	00 02 06

clothes were of paramount importance . These documentary accounts assembled from a particularly diverse range of sources have shown that over a period of two hundred and fifty years, haberdashery contributed in no small measure to the appearance and wealth of the nation, and the associated development of consumer goods.

---

<sup>824</sup> Eland, G. (ed.), *Purefoy Letters, 1735-1753*, Vol. II, (London: 1931), pp.321, 318.

<sup>825</sup> Lady Anne Murray's Account Book, July 1785 - March 1793. At the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, Hampstead, London.



## Conclusion

Haberdashery is not readily classified. Although undoubtedly an essential part of dress, and therefore of dress history, many of its items fit more comfortably into the branch of material culture involved with the history of metal wares and industrial change. Pins, needles, hooks and eyes, aglets, metal buttons and buckles, spangles, metallic thread, were all made in hot dirty workshops, a far cry from the workrooms of the fringe and braid makers, the narrow weavers, the lace makers, and embroiderers, where work was equally labour intensive, sometimes overcrowded, but of necessity at least clean.

These seemingly incompatible elements, the metal and thread of haberdashery wares, are and were, used either functionally to create objects or decoratively to construct image. Once haberdashery has been used to make a garment the wares are essentially invisible in terms of their value and quantity, while those items that are employed for their decorative qualities are lost into the effect of the garment as a whole. Yet this diversity of strands makes haberdashery a most suitable subject for investigation through a variety of sources and media. Through time many hundreds people have been employed in producing the assorted constituents, the metal wares, trimmings and fastenings, but often little has been known about the manufacture or the use of the products in clothing.

Dress, which can only exist through the agency of haberdashery, is a subject replete with contradictions: clothes are personal items, but are in the public domain; some pieces have been conserved for posterity, most have disappeared without trace; some items have achieved an iconic status through frequent pictorial representation,<sup>826</sup> others remain in their boxes. The historiography of this study demonstrated that until as recently as fifteen years ago the history of dress existed precariously on the fringes of mainstream history. Before the recent challenges to the old order, there had been two approaches to the

---

<sup>826</sup> Such as the dress of Elizabeth I in the Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger 'globe' portrait, Jacqueline Kennedy's pillbox hat, early Mary Quant and Biba dresses, several items from the wardrobe of Diana Princess of Wales.

history of dress. The first, which might be termed the classic approach, focussed on objects and related them to their period through image and document. While a real history of clothing could not come into existence without such painstaking recording of cut and construction, decoration and fastening, the detail is not enough without being grounded in the relevant socio-economic circumstances.

The other approach to dress history analysed documentary evidence to the exclusion of the artefacts. Historians have long been aware of the products from the economic perspective; they have traced the development of textile manufacture, the growth of the Birmingham button, buckle, and metal toy industries, the rise of Manchester and Liverpool cotton wares threads and tapes, and the decline in lace making, but they have rarely followed the goods beyond the point of manufacture. Although historians have used the paperwork for quantifying imports, for example, to London, Hull and Liverpool, the final destinations of the wares have gone unrecorded. 'We need to know more about these goods,' writes Maxine Berg, 'which of them were new, why they were attractive, which were fashionable, which mundane, and how people invented and responded to them.'<sup>827</sup>

In these more enlightened times, historians are striving to combine 'the historically divorced discourses of material culture (the province of the curator or archaeologist) and its "context" (the province of the historian).'<sup>828</sup> In the light of this progressive attitude the aim of this study has been twofold: firstly to identify evidence which will give access to information about the supply of haberdashery wares through the early modern period in England, and through that evidence to analyse the availability of wares in a range of geographical areas, and to enable the identification of goods of necessity, and goods for luxury use, secondly, to examine the ways in which haberdashery was produced, retailed,

---

<sup>827</sup> Berg, M., *Luxury and Pleasure*, (Oxford: 2005), p 16.

<sup>828</sup> Clunas, Craig, *Superfluous Things, Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China*, (London: 1991), p.2, quoted in C. Breward, *The Culture of Fashion*, (Manchester: 1995), p.13.

and used to help shape appearance and identity. By so doing this study will contribute to the ongoing debate concerning consumption in the early modern period.

## Identification and analysis of sources

The initial challenge in attempting to clarify this under-investigated area lay in locating appropriate sources, since the established time span of the study required a continuous supply of documentary evidence to cover a period of two hundred and fifty years. Fears for a lack of sources proved groundless, and continuity of information was achieved through a combination of several types of documentary evidence. The selected documents collected from county record offices - inventories and diaries, together with printed contemporary material, newspapers and trade cards - proved to be fruitful sources, supplying much of the necessary data which was transcribed into machine-readable form. Databases and worksheets were designed and constructed and the data entered up. Additional primary and secondary source publications filled in the gaps and suggested lines of enquiry. The investigation of extant clothing in dress collections, together with the examination of sundry art works, provided additional tangible and visual evidence of the use of haberdashery.

The selected data resulted in a compilation of over two hundred transcribed documents, and nine databases now hold the records of over 230 traders representing eighty-five towns and villages, together with details of their wares; a collection of haberdashery related trade cards; particulars from several unpublished diaries; two collections of visual references; and a glossary. A collection of photographs completes the assemblage. The most successful of the databases are those which were developed later in the study, the trade cards, diaries and newspapers, as the software design was modified and improved by the University computing team for *The Dictionary Project*. The problems of too much data per field, as experienced with my WARES databases, have since been remedied for *The Project*, and their procedures for performing searches have been

considerably improved. However, my own databases proved adequate for ordering and conducting more limited searches.

## Supply and availability

In order to examine the supply and availability of wares demanded by the first stage of this study, a database search was run to seek the presence of goods named for their place of origin. A search on Manchester wares including inkle, tapes, bindings, ‘Manchesters’ and ‘Manchester goods,’ demonstrated the wide area through which these goods were distributed, from Penrith in the north, down to the Isle of Wight. The time span was wide too, between 1609 and 1735, evenly spread through the period with the exception of the 1640s and 1650s. Inventory entries for Coventry blue thread were found between the same dates, examples being mainly in the south and only once in the north. Said to have been ‘in decay’ in 1549, this was one of the industries rescued from failure by the ‘projects’ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to produce goods at home primarily for the domestic market. Thirsk notes the Sidney household in Kent purchasing ‘blue Coventry thread’ at an expensive 7s. a pound in 1578.<sup>829</sup> The earliest occurrence in my sample is for the same year, in Coventry itself, valued at 4s. 8d. per pound; transport costs could well account for some of the difference in value. There are no examples of the thread between 1640 and 1671, but either side of that period it is recorded regularly, particularly in Hampshire.

It can be shown through the goods bearing their place of origin in their name, that the requirements for clothes-making and small ready-made items were being transported countrywide. For example, Taunton serge, London pins and London cloth, were all found in Cumbria; Kentish cloth, Congleton purses and Welsh garters were found in Lancashire inventories; Norwich hats, and London ribbons and buttons, appeared in the Midlands documents, alongside Burton Kersey, Shrewsbury cloth, and Kidderminsters;

---

<sup>829</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978), p.114.

while the Hampshire and Sussex inventories also had Maidstone thread, London goods and Bristol buttons. 'Scotch' goods, such as caps, thread, handkerchiefs, buttons, and linen cloth, were also evident in the south, especially Sussex. Imported goods were available in Lancashire with Arganzina, Messina, Liege, and Naples silks; while Flemish pins and needles, French tapes, garters and caps and were for sale in the Midlands, Hampshire and Sussex. The distribution of these goods, a high proportion of them haberdashery wares, confirms findings by Willan and Spufford regarding the widespread movement of manufactures, both north and south, and in particular demonstrates a growing demand for a wider choice of wares than could be satisfied by local products alone.

Willan suggests that the regular services between the provincial towns and London must have been operated by professional, full time carriers, and notes that the sixteenth century Lancashire linen industry distributed its products widely by land.<sup>830</sup> B.C. Jones reports the month-long journeys of sixteenth-century packhorse men delivering Kendal cloth to London, and returning with imported goods, dried fruits, dye goods and canvas.<sup>831</sup> There is every reason to suppose that the opportunity would have been taken to also carry fashionable haberdashery small wares on the return journeys, as the haberdashery sold by merchants in Cumbria met the requirements of fashionable wear to a surprising degree. Alongside the necessary pins, tapes and hooks and eyes, which could have been locally made wares, there were silver and gold laces, knots of neck pearls, mohair and high value ribbons, and buttons. There were also coloured threads for embroidery and for matching with the fabric of garments under construction, as well as black and brown thread and sewing silk for basic assembly. A comparison of threads in a Penrith inventory of 1609 shows much the same selection and range, with eleven different sorts; at Portsmouth in 1587, there were ten. Tapes appear to be the most universally stocked items in all the

---

<sup>830</sup> Lowe, N., *The Lancashire textile industry in the sixteenth century*, Chetham Soc., 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., xx (1972), ch. iv, quoted in Willan, T.S., *The Inland Trade: Studies in English internal trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (Manchester: 1976), p.11.

<sup>831</sup> Jones, B.C., 'Westmorland pack-horse men in Southampton,' *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, lix (1960), pp. 65-84.

regions throughout the period of the study. Outside London, Sussex appears to have the widest range and greatest quantity of wares in the greatest number of outlets. However, the presence of the quantity and variety of wares in Cumbria, one of the poorest counties in England, at the beginning of the seventeenth century demonstrates that haberdashery wares were more widely available than might have been expected.

## Goods of necessity, goods of luxury

While much of the mid-sixteenth century haberdashery would have been imported, changes in manufacture were already underway. England's rural industries were already replacing [some] foreign goods,<sup>832</sup> and before long many of the desirable little items would be supplanted or augmented by English or Scottish made wares, costing the country less in imports, funding a secondary wave of cheaper purchases, and allowing more people greater choice to buy items which were, as Berg emphasises 'luxuries to their consumers.'<sup>833</sup> The analysis of items of luxury and those of necessity in the inventories can be determined so far as the terminology of the period is understood. Although extant garments can be examined for their haberdashery of construction and decoration, and the constituent parts identified by fibre, the sewing threads used, for example, cannot be definitively labelled, even though the terminology is familiar through trading documents. Our knowledge in some areas is still incomplete, or at times confused by conflicting contemporary references, caused in part by the changing nature and structure of goods through time. This has led to examples of the same item being called by different names over time or place sometimes simultaneously,<sup>834</sup> on occasion as a marketing ploy,<sup>835</sup> or conversely a changed or new item retaining an old name.<sup>836</sup> Some

---

<sup>832</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*: (Oxford: 1978), p.122.

<sup>833</sup> Berg, M., and H. Clifford, (eds), *Consumers and luxury*, (Manchester: 1999), p.66.

<sup>834</sup> Such as the 'piccadill,' 'rebato,' and 'underpropper,' all of which were wire and stiffened fabric devices to support ruffs and collars in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth century.

<sup>835</sup> See Lemire, B., *Fashion's Favourite*, (Oxford: 1991), for the changing names of identical fabrics.

<sup>836</sup> For example a worsted yarn known as 'caddis' or 'caddas' in the sixteenth century became known as 'crewel.' Originally used for embroidery on linen textiles and occasionally for

of the luxury wares such as gold and silver lace are easily identified. Elsewhere items can only be assessed on their ratio of price/valuation to quantity, and if details are omitted, for example 'several sorts of buttons £10,' speculation on the quality is not possible.

The first two sample inventories from Cumbria dated 1609 and 1657 had respectively forty types of fabric and eighty textile entries. With over four hundred yards of a range of forty types of fabric, from the first inventory in the sample for Cumbria, and the next one having eighty textile entries, it is evident that the area was neither as inaccessible nor as backward as the historiography of the county implies.<sup>837</sup> To construct and decorate garments there were a wide variety of evidently quality haberdashery wares.

Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 3, a number of the fabrics were fashionably named goods, such as Damisilla, Royall Oak and Happy Change. Alongside these in other Cumbrian inventories were such examples as velvet at 19s. a yard, and black damask velvet at 10s. Similarly in Lancashire the Sankeys, father and son, had expensive fabrics in their Ormskirk shop(s), including branched damask at 9s. a yard, plain velvet and silk stuff at 5s., and taffeta at 10s. Again to make and embellish these better quality textiles there were a number of valuable haberdashery items: velvet lace, silk and silver buttons, silk pearled lace, coloured fringe and lace. These inventories, together with the large lists of goods belonging to Billers of Coventry, and those of Caleb Brotherhood of Leicester, show that not only were the counties at a further remove from London aware of fashion, but they desired - and were able - to make choices and participate in the construction of both everyday and more fashionable clothing.

A search was run to see if any conclusions could be drawn on the subject of fashion and luxury from the appraisers' terminology. The word 'quality' appears in inventories from about 1719 as both a descriptor and the name of a particular type of binding. As a tape it

---

decoration by the lower orders, it was later refined to become an embroidery thread. Caulfield, S., and B.C. Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework*. (1885), (Exeter: reprint, 1989), p.96. An example in textiles: 'serge' in 1583 was a woollen fabric, but by 1608 it could be made of silk, twilled in the manner of serge. *OED*, (1980).

<sup>837</sup> Bouch, C.M.L., and G.P. Jones, *The Lake Counties, 1500-1830*, (Manchester: 1961).

is noted in broad and narrow, worsted and silk, plain and best, but as the term is applied to silk buttons, ferret, red tape, threads and laces it appears to indicate a level of excellence and carry an implication of value. Uses of the descriptors 'old' and 'new' were also investigated. Three examples of lace in London were deemed to be 'old fashioned' with one each in Cumbria and Lancashire. Liverpool and Carlisle had 'old fashioned' ribbons and Coventry had 'old fashioned' buttons. Instances of ready-made items referred to as 'old fashioned' were hats, cuffs, hose, a muff and a childbed suit. The earliest instance of 'old fashioned' found was dated 1625, with the next examples falling in a cluster between 1665 and 1689. There were slightly more references to 'old' items, some of which can be identified in the sense of age rather than fashion by other references in the document, such as the differentiation between 'old' and 'old fashioned' in the example of Winchester hats noted above. There were six examples of lace being 'old,' and four of buttons. Coventry had some 'old' and some 'new' buttons in the same inventory, that being one of only six uses of the word 'new' in the collection.

In total 48 items are referred to as being old or old-fashioned. Interpreting 'old' as meaning aged and possibly shabby goods, these items can be seen as much as an indication of a fall from fashion as those wares actually labelled 'old fashioned.' Sussex and Hampshire have the greatest number at 16, but Cumbria and Lancashire have 12 references. This is not sufficient difference for a claim to be made that the appraisers for the southern counties might be more conscious of changing fashion or more critical of the goods, nor that the northern ones were any less well informed than their southern counterparts. The use of the terms is most frequently applied to the small ready-made clothing items. Of those, the London inventories use 'old fashioned' four times against only once each for the northern and the southern counties, while 'old' is applied to goods in Hampshire/Sussex on seven occasions, Cumbria/Lancashire four times, twice in the Midlands group but not at all in London. Thus there might be a slight case for the claim that appraisers from fashion-setting London were quicker to judge ready-made items as being out of date. Indeed while the time line for examples of the term 'old' stretches from the beginning to the end of the seventeenth century, the cluster of dates for 'old fashioned' coincide with the introduction by King Charles II of the more severe lines and



reduced ribbons of the ‘virile vest,’<sup>838</sup> which was to influence men’s attire until the gradual return to ornamentation and finery in the later 1670s. While it cannot be claimed that the ‘old fashioned’ goods were so described as a direct result of the king’s new style, I suggest that it is indicative of a heightened awareness of fashion changes.

It is not difficult to comprehend the way in which hats, for example, could be left behind stylistically as fashions changed, but it seems more likely that the ribbons and buttons termed ‘old fashioned’ were out of date by reason of their colour, materials or perhaps, technology. It does serve as a reminder, however, that unless these items were being sold as second-hand,<sup>839</sup> they had once been new and in fashion. The fact that the goods were still in the shop after their heyday, denoting a potential loss of profit, indicates that other goods had superseded them, and that the shopkeeper was both aware of fashion and had sought to keep abreast of it. An alternative view suggests that old items might be a deliberate inclusion of wares, perhaps purchased cheaply from other retailers disposing of out of date stock, aimed for poorer customers while the middling and wealthy had the choice of the latest goods. In either case, the evidence suggests an awareness of fashion and the desirability of offering up to date goods.

The first aim of this study was thus completed. Sources were found, made manageable and analysed, and the availability of haberdashery wares over a range of geographical areas through time was established. Contrary to conventional wisdom, the evidence shows that the choice of wares accessible to purchasers in the northern and midland counties was similar to that which could be found in London and the south of England, although in lesser quantities. Moreover, the quality and variety of articles available indicate that goods were offered across the price range throughout the period.

---

<sup>838</sup> Kutchta, D.M., ‘“Graceful, Virile and Useful”: The Origins of the Three Piece Suit’, *Dress*, Volume 17, (1990), pp.118-126, but see Ribeiro, A., who describes this work as ‘not at all convincing’ since Kutchta’s argument rests on the idea that textiles in this period were gendered, a notion Ribeiro comments, that does not appear until the eighteenth century. *Fashion and Fiction*, (New Haven and London: 2005), p.236 and n.53, p.360.

<sup>839</sup> One of the references includes an entry for ‘old clothes.’ WSRO 1754 Peirce of Harting.

## Production

The useful storage and retrieval of data in memo fields in the later databases facilitated the analysis of source material for the second aim of this study namely, to examine how changes in production, retail practice, and use of haberdashery wares to define personal identity and image, impacted on the consumption of goods in the early modern period.

The importance of the production of haberdashery wares has been seen in the number of people employed in the manufacture of all the items which come under its heading. Driven by changes in fashion, buttons for example, were needed for both purely practical and for decorative purposes at all levels of society. Buttons were an important element in the project to supplement home-based work for the poor, such as in Salisbury in the 1620s.<sup>840</sup> An observable increase in availability of buttons took place from their first appearance in my inventory sample in the 1580s. A regular average of two varieties in those inventories where buttons were recorded followed until the year 1675 when there was a dramatic rise to between ten and sixteen varieties, falling off again after 1705. This fall tallies with the rise in fashion of fabric-covered, sometimes embroidered buttons made alongside each garment that, over time, gave rise to severe hardship in some branches of the button-making trades. Although it should be remembered that button makers employed directly by tailors would have profited by the system; in addition, 'moulds' would still have been needed, and it seems quite likely that that the rags trade would also have gained by salvaging buttons and selling them on for re-covering. In 1759, as noted in Chapter 2., John Taylor explained to a House of Commons Committee the importance of the metal toy trade to Birmingham stating that at least 20,000 people from Birmingham and its neighbourhood were employed by the industry that had a trade value of about £600,000 per year. Much of this trade would have been in buttons; at that time Taylor's button factory alone employed 500 workers.<sup>841</sup> Eventually the government

---

<sup>840</sup> Clark, P. and P. Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns*, (London: 1972), p. 181, quoted in Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978), p.66.

<sup>841</sup> Hamilton, P., 'John Taylor' in *The New Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: 2004).

intervened in an attempt to save the ‘many thousands of industrious Men Women and Children [who] are become almost destitute of Employment by the General use now made of Buttons unlawfully covered.’<sup>842</sup>

Consumer demand for innovation, and/or cheap imitation, was recognised by entrepreneurs and inventors alike and eighteenth century patents demonstrate the focus on new goods, on the improvement of existing wares, and on extending the qualities and varieties within ranges of goods. Henry Clay, the Birmingham japanner, patented objects made in new materials such as his japanned buttons, and John Taylor took out a patent to cover the silver-plating of small metalwares such as copper buttons and buckles.<sup>843</sup> The luxury trades began advertising their products through pattern books and trade cards, as was shown in Chapter 5. The existence of these cards with their smallwares content confirms the range of businesses with smallwares links, and shows the integral place of haberdashery in the clothing industry.

The pin trade was another that had benefited from a project started in the 1540s. It advanced with technological improvements through the sixteenth century and by the 1620s had become a firmly established industry in parts of Gloucestershire as well as London and elsewhere, employing several thousands of men, women and children.<sup>844</sup> The quantities of ribbons appearing in inventories also took an upturn in the 1670s,<sup>845</sup> rising from roughly fourteen varieties noted per decade to thirty-two varieties per decade around the turn of the century, then reducing after 1710 to an average of ten per decade only to rise again later in the century.<sup>846</sup> Gregory King reckoned, in 1688, that £400,000

---

<sup>842</sup> *Aris's Gazette*, Vol. 49, No. 2557: 11/15/1790.

<sup>843</sup> Berg, M., *Luxury and Pleasure*, (Oxford: 2005), p.108-9.

<sup>844</sup> Thirsk, J., *Economic Policy and Projects*, (Oxford: 1978), p.83.

<sup>845</sup> In Congleton the manufacture of ribbons was started in 1755 in a rising market, taking on commissions from Coventry merchants. The trade developed from the earlier silk throwing industry. *Berisfords - The Ribbon People*, (York: 1966), p. 25.

<sup>846</sup> It is possible that the apparent decrease in named varieties of ribbon argues for an actual increase in quantity, simply subsumed into the generic term ‘ribbon,’ or that my inevitably limited inventory sample is distorted. Judging by the sums involved, I am of the opinion that the number of available varieties decreased in the early part of the century, in the inventories in my sample.

would be spent on decorative ribbons, fringes, gold silver and worsted lace, embroidery and thread, providing an income for a large number of people at various levels of society. Peter Earle comments that ‘ the stock-lists of haberdashers, milliners, and mercers...leave one in no doubt of the size of the [clothing] industry.’<sup>847</sup>

Database searches were run for evidence in the inventories of expanding growth of production in local areas for tapes and threads, insofar as they might be ascertained from locally named goods, or those for which an area was known. The results indicated the success of production and distribution in that, for example, the increase in Manchester wares was not seen in the Lancashire inventories but rather in Hampshire and Sussex, while Coventry blue thread appeared more frequently in Hampshire than in Warwickshire. As Cox suggests, this might well indicate that locally produced goods were present but needed no identification;<sup>848</sup> it also demonstrates that information concerning quality or type was carried by the name, when used in distant counties.

The evidence of the choice of products, the variety of type, style, quality and price within those products, which gave employment to thousands of people, has shown that the manufacture of haberdashery was an important element in the nation’s workforce.

## Retail

By the start of the period covered by this study there can be no doubt that although some purchasing was through fairs and markets, much was through fixed shops. However, visits to markets and fairs were still part of the annual pattern of sale and purchase for vendors and customers alike. Spufford writes of chapmen ‘travelling incredibly long distance to fairs all over the kingdom.’<sup>849</sup> Her rough estimate taken at the turn of the

---

<sup>847</sup> Earle, P., *The Making of the English Middle Class*, (London: 1989), p.21.

<sup>848</sup> Nancy Cox notes this same phenomenon with ‘Kidderminster’ and ‘Norwich’ stuffs. Personal communication.

<sup>849</sup> Spufford, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, (London: 1984), p.76.

seventeenth century is of two and a half thousand traders dealing with goods to the total value of around £100,000, including over a million yards of cloth, much of which would need the chapmen's accompanying haberdashery wares for eventual construction into clothing.<sup>850</sup>

Cox observes that 'the fair was remarkably resilient to the pressures of the new methods of distribution.' Citing the evidence of Lancaster shopkeeper William Stout, who bought goods at Preston and Garstang fairs as he was 'anxious to have his shop well stocked up in preparation for the local summer fair' when he expected a rush of customers, Cox shows that fairs continued to be used by retailing tradesmen to both sell and buy goods.<sup>851</sup> By implication this also demonstrates the continuing symbiotic nature of markets and shops in the host town. Willan suggests that perishable goods 'were usually bought in the market, and that in that sense the market and the shop were complimentary rather than competitive.'<sup>852</sup> This is supported by records for the Lindfield family of Sussex, for whom on several occasions visits to the fair or the market were combined with shopping in the town. They did not detail their actual purchases, but visiting the town on market or fair day increased the choice for haberdashery purchase beyond just the two haberdashers whose settled bills appear in the account book.

Spufford notes that 'Although markets normally drew both buyers and sellers from a fifteen-mile radius, fairs had a regional area between 30 and 75 miles away, and also a "national" area, over 75 miles away.' In a sample of transactions at fairs, she notes, eleven percent of buyers and twenty-three percent of sellers lived over 75 miles away.<sup>853</sup> The observant traveller, Celia Fiennes, wrote in her journal of the countryside around Penrith that the people had far to go to the market, 'but they and their horses are used to it and go with much more facility than strangers.'<sup>854</sup> Cox comments that for most people in

---

<sup>850</sup> Spufford, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England*, (London: 1984), p.145.

<sup>851</sup> Cox, N., *The Complete Tradesman*, (Aldershot: 2000), p.195.

<sup>852</sup> Willan, T.S., *The Inland Trade*: (Manchester: 1976), p.53.

<sup>853</sup> Spufford, M., *op cit*, p.76.

<sup>854</sup> Fiennes, Celia, *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, c. 1682-c. 1712*, Morris, C. (ed.), (Exeter: 1982), p.169.

rural England visits to the market at some point were inevitable, and that ‘This may have made a shop accessible even though it was patently many difficult miles away.’<sup>855</sup> The Lindfield family visited fairs and markets in February, May and July of every year covered by the account book; they occasionally went to fairs in November, with more regular visits to ‘town’, and to the assizes. Seven towns and markets are mentioned in the Lindfield accounts, four within a ten mile radius, one about fifteen miles away, and Brighton and Newhaven a little more than twenty miles distant. Amounts recorded as ‘spent at the fayre’ were usually only a few pence, with extra ‘fairings’ of between one and three shillings given to the children, however, specific purchases recorded simply as ‘2 ounces Red Silk..4s.’ may or may not have been made at the fair.

The vending of goods through fairs, markets and pedlars did not die out with the end of the seventeenth century – Berg notes that there were 3,200 fairs in 1756 - but grew and became more specialised. ‘Even the most fashionable luxuries were sold at the fairs and great markets of Europe...Hawkers and ‘Scotch’ pedlars still sold fashion goods among their wares all over Britain and Europe: along with the drapery they sold haberdashery, ribbons, buckles and buttons, ...and other fancy goods.’<sup>856</sup> The inventories in my sample include chapmen as late as the 1740s in the north, and in 1757 in Sussex.

Turning from fairs to a discussion of fixed shop retailing and distribution, Carole Shammas comments that ‘the traditional association of specialisation with an expansion of retailing and non-specialization with primitive, non-growth situations is misleading.’ Although she notes the London merchants’ specialisation in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the proliferation of retailers in other parts of the country ‘was accomplished through broadening the kind of merchandise offered for sale and through the practice of combining multiple occupations.’<sup>857</sup> The inventories in this study show that this development was in place by at least the late sixteenth century.<sup>858</sup>

---

<sup>855</sup> Cox, N., *op cit*, p.60.

<sup>856</sup> Berg, M., *Luxury and Pleasure*, (Oxford: 2005), p. 259

<sup>857</sup> Shammas, C., *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America*, (Oxford: 1990), p.8.

<sup>858</sup> For example John Beald, of Portsmouth, HRO 1586 A08/1-2, whose range of goods covered mercery, ready-made items, apothecary, hardware, glassware, agricultural supplies, and grocery.

My collection of inventories demonstrates that in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were large supplies of wares of all kinds in London, an expected result for the nation's capital, a city with the greatest quantity of manufacturers as well as importers and retailers. There was also more specialisation, with London shopkeepers more likely than their country counterparts to opt for selling only ready-made clothes, or fabrics, or haberdashery, rather than a mixture of goods. The quantities in the London shops were stunning; where items were counted by the dozen or the gross in the provinces, they were carried by the dozen gross in London. While most, if not all, the named tapes, bindings, and ribbons could be found scattered through the provincial shops, some of the retailers in London stocked them all simultaneously.

Probate inventories can be informative about the fittings of shops, and sometimes layout can also be deduced. Shops in the sixteenth and seventeenth century would, for the most part, have been created from the front room of a domestic house, possibly with an additional room or area set aside for making goods, as can be seen in the inventory of a Tamworth mercer who had a shop and a nether shop, and a Manchester silkweaver in 1648 with a shop and a loomhouse.<sup>859</sup> Most would have sold their wares 'through the window' with a board or counter for display and transactions with customers.<sup>860</sup> Richard Fitzherbert<sup>861</sup> of Coventry had a desk for the window with shelves, vallans and canvas; in Penrith in 1684 Joseph Carter<sup>862</sup> had a window range. Storage and display are evident from furnishings and indicate change over time as the shopkeepers' craft developed. For example, John Bullocher of Southampton in 1627 had a cockloft in which was 'a large press to put hats in,' with further presses, chests and settles in the shop; Edward Pratt of Alton in Hampshire in 1640, with chests, shelves and nests of boxes, also had a 'parcel of wares upon the Rack'; while by 1729 the shop fittings of Edward Fulljames, Midhurst, Sussex, extended to 'counters, drawers, shelves, racks, reels, coffee moll and mortar'

---

<sup>859</sup> LJRO 1604 William Allen; LRO WCW 1648 Timothy Hulme.

<sup>860</sup> See Cox, N.C., *The Complete Tradesman*, especially Chapter 3. with Claire Walsh, for a full discussion and description of shop design and function. (Aldershot: 2000), pp.76-115.

<sup>861</sup> LJRO 1580 Richard Fitzherbert.

<sup>862</sup> CRO 1684 Joseph Carter.

worth £2.10s.<sup>863</sup> Whilst inventories frequently list goods of the same genre together, some inventories appear to follow the layout of the shop itself. One such is that of Lutterworth mercer John Almey,<sup>864</sup> whose inventory suggests that the cheaper practical items of haberdashery were displayed or stored next to other practical wares.<sup>865</sup> The linens, says, readymade goods and decorative haberdashery, can be seen to occupy a different space so that, although they co-exist with the grocery and hardware goods they are given separate opportunities for display and purchase.

Externally shopkeepers moved towards attracting the attention of potential customers. Three of the late sixteenth century/early seventeenth century Hampshire inventories, as noted in Chapter 3., had entries for a display device they called a ‘show,’<sup>866</sup> while in 1682 Richard Coling<sup>867</sup> of Coventry had a free- standing sign or figure of a Black Boy as his tobacconist’s symbol. In the 1670s, included in the inventory of Percival Chandler, a haberdasher in Holborn, were the sign, sign irons and stall grates assessed at £2.15s, while the shop signs for the Royal Exchange shop of Edward Coote, together with some boxes and cupboards, were valued at £6.<sup>868</sup> The design on hanging shop signs were often featured on trade cards, the portable pasteboard *aides memoir* for vendor and wares which, as seen in Chapter 5 were used for effective advertising purposes. Many of the cards revealed sophisticated use of persuasive phrases, familiar to later users of the psychology of advertising. A number of them encourage their customers towards the purchase of goods new to the market. A further external development, glazed windows, were available in London from the eighteenth century,<sup>869</sup> as can be seen in the contemporary street scenes of Hogarth and Cruikshank, which enabled the shopkeeper to make a better display. Apart from altering the appearance of shops they also changed the style of selling, from immediate transactions semi-outdoor and similar to the market stall, to a more leisurely selection of goods in the intimate setting inside the shop space.

---

<sup>863</sup> HRO 1627 B 12/2 Bullocher; HRO 1640 Ad 129 Pratt; WSRO 1729 Fulljames.

<sup>864</sup> LRO Leics: PR/1/65 John Almey.

<sup>865</sup> See Chapter 4., Analysis of Inventories, p.146.

<sup>866</sup> HRO 1592 A045/1-2 Glevins; HRO 1609 A70/2 Stevens; HRO 1622 A69/1-2 Vibert.

<sup>867</sup> LJRO: 1682 Richard Coleinge.

<sup>868</sup> LRO ORPHANS 982 Chandler; LRO ORPHANS MISC. INV.ROLL 889 Coote.

<sup>869</sup> Cox, N., *The Complete Tradesman*, (Aldershot: 2000), p.79.



Inventories such as those of London mercer John Draper at the Royal Exchange and Percival Chandler<sup>870</sup> record the presence, in 1674, of stools and leather chairs for their customers. The more appealing appearance of shop fronts would by association reflect well on the goods offered for sale, promoting a sense of participation in fashion even when merely purchasing necessities, indeed encouraging customers to go further and purchase something ‘desirable but not indispensable.’<sup>871</sup>

‘Fashion was made not just by designers, but by retailers and merchants,’ writes Maxine Berg of the eighteenth century.<sup>872</sup> Discussing Adam Smith’s comment that ‘When two objects have frequently been seen together, the imagination acquires the habit of passing easily from the one to the other,’ Berg notes that the complementary nature of the two goods increases the attraction of both.<sup>873</sup> Haberdashery and textiles can be seen co-existing in this kind of symbiotic relationship, each benefiting from the way in which ‘Merchants and manufacturers reached consumers... not through a disembodied idea of novelty, but through careful connection, packaging, and a product cycle.’<sup>874</sup> Annual fashions were planned in advance; the fashion cycle of silk fabrics was pushed ever faster by the imitation, copying and theft of new design, stimulating innovation. Fashion brought a rapid turnover of design and a dramatic increase in variety. With improving technology fashion textiles became accessible to the middling classes, and to the labouring poor as well through the second-hand clothing trade. Haberdashery wares were an essential part of this cycle of incentive and innovation, ‘fashion goods incorporated the full range of newly invented ornamental detail in ...decorative accessories from buttons and buckles to cameos and medallions.’ New designs were aimed to be available for the beginning of the London and Bath seasons, as fashion cycles set by Paris and London ‘dictated production and design schedules for all the accessories and adornments of

---

<sup>870</sup> LRO ORPHANS 1082 Draper; Chandler, *op cit.*

<sup>871</sup> Friedberg, Anne, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern*, (Berkeley: 1993), quoted in Kowaleski-Wallace, E., *Consuming Subjects*, (New York: 1997), p. 77.

<sup>872</sup> Berg, M., *Luxury and Pleasure*, (Oxford: 2005), p. 255.

<sup>873</sup> Berg, M., *ibid*, p. 252, quoting Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759: 1790).

<sup>874</sup> Berg, M., *ibid*, (Oxford: 2005), p.252.

fashion clothing...Cut-throat competition among London, Birmingham, and Paris toymen drove a fashion market in ornament.'<sup>875</sup>

The inventories for this study were selected from a wide range of traders by no means all of whom were identified as haberdashers or mercers, yet they all shared the common factor of having chosen to retail at least some elements of haberdashery wares. In some instances the combination of goods seem unlikely, such as tobacconist Richard Coling from Coventry, or Richard Gillham from Arundel whose very large inventory of ironwares, cutlery, joinery, tin wares, braziers and pewterers goods makes him an improbable stockist of the ribbons, bindings, hats, handkerchiefs, and stockings which are nevertheless to be found in his inventory. Yet these traders must have considered it to be in their interest to retail haberdashery goods. The profit margin on such small, often cheap items had to be insignificant, but whether being offered as the essential accompaniment to fabrics, or as necessary items for the simple preservation of decency, haberdashery was thought of as being of interest to the customers of diverse types of retail outlets. They were also sold through varying retail practices and were seen as being in the forefront of fashion changes.

## Haberdashery Wares in Use

A nationwide vocabulary of haberdashery wares can be seen to exist throughout the period of this study, with inventories in Cumbria in the sixteenth century, for example, using the same terminology as those in Sussex. Doubtless there were some regional differences in perhaps colour or quality of goods, but apart from the specifically titled wares from places such as Birmingham, Manchester and Coventry, very few items were

---

<sup>875</sup> Berg, M., *ibid*, (Oxford: 2005), p.255.

identified by their place of origin.<sup>876</sup> Imported goods, such as ‘outnal thread’ or ‘Dutch thread,’<sup>877</sup> were also available nationally. While the items themselves were accessible country wide, so too were the meanings and the implicit hierarchy of wares. Customers across England would recognize the meanings embodied in the same goods, coloured by their own accumulated experiences of seeing what other people wore, communication with friends or visitors from outwith the area, from advertising, or trade cards. In this way haberdashery could perform the function of a commonly understood social reference. For example, in 1741 a letter to John Chute, owner of ‘The Vyne’ Hampshire, from a friend in London referred to a mutual acquaintance as ‘a fine young Personage in a coat all over spangles just come over from a Tour of Europe.’<sup>878</sup>

Vickery noted the acceptance, rejection or adapting of London fashion designs by the Lancashire ladies in her study, and questioned their relationship with high fashion. “A desire for precise *information* about new modes was widespread”, she notes, “However, a certain distain for the absurdity of metropolitan excess was *de rigueur* and a proper sense of the triviality of fashion was often paraded.”<sup>879</sup> This is an important point. The desire to know what was being worn elsewhere was a powerful one at any level, and to have the opportunity to make informed choice, to spurn or embrace ‘the triviality of fashion,’ was part of the fashion process. It was, I believe, not the wish to emulate but the desire to participate, that was part of the driving force keeping fashion moving onwards, particularly in the provinces, and haberdashery was always the small, easily altered article that could be used as a the means and the signifier of modernity and change.

Participation required points of reference as well as information, and it was evident from some of the diaries in the sample that people were familiar with the components of their clothing, sometimes surprisingly so. In his account book written between 1768 and 1722, Mr. Nollis, younger son of Charles, Earl of Banbury, was precise in his vocabulary of

---

<sup>876</sup> Those that were so named, such as Congleton purses, and Kentish handkerchiefs, occur only infrequently.

<sup>877</sup> Which may also have simply become generic terms by that time.

<sup>878</sup> HRO 102 M 88W/16.

<sup>879</sup> Vickery, Amanda, *The Gentleman’s Daughter*, (London: 1998), p.180.

wares.<sup>880</sup> He specified catgut for stiffening, silk ferret tape, pearl edging;<sup>881</sup> and the specific sewing threads of Coventry, thread and twist. Writing regularly from London to his sister in Hampshire, Viscount Wallingford, elder son of the Earl, often mentioned details of the current fashion<sup>882</sup> and even offered practical help. In March 1782 he sent her a piece of Carmelite ribbon which 'the Queen was so taken with...she sent and ordered a whole suit of it. Mrs Moore had a cap of the Queen's milliner...and was so obliging as to cut off a Piece for you.'<sup>883</sup> His sister approved, but her brother was unable to buy her any after all because:

it is not to be had. The reason is whenever the Queen orders a favourite Ribband there is so much manufactured and no more, that it may not become common.

This provides an interesting sidelight on the uses of haberdashery by Royalty, and how it could affect the manufacturers - the status of being ribbon makers to the Queen being offset by having to stop producing what would obviously have been a highly sought after trimming.

Items of necessity and items of luxury were closely combined in haberdashery wares, and even luxury gold lace had to be attached with plebeian thread. Decorative haberdashery created fashion when it was used fashionably, and plain fabrics could be turned into patterned ones by the use of cords, braids, or fringing. An example can be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum where very narrow silk braid with a diagonal raised pattern was appliquéd to create a striped effect on a man's seventeenth-century cream silk doublet,<sup>884</sup> in itself already an expensive fabric, thus emphasising the status of the wearer. The same effect was used for the creation of mid-eighteenth century fashionable shoes. Patterned fabrics were further enhanced with an overt use of rich thread embroidery in

---

<sup>880</sup> HRO: IM 44/168.

<sup>881</sup> A sarcenet or lutestring ribbon with 'pearls' formed by the projection of the weft.

<sup>882</sup> In January 1784 he wrote 'Air Balloon hats are all the Fashion,' but in May of that year, 'Balloons now seem to be going off and the Leghorn substituted in lieu thereof.' HRO IM 44/97/1.

<sup>883</sup> HRO IM 44/97/1.

<sup>884</sup> V. & A. T59-1910.

the eighteenth century, combined with appliquéd spangles, paste jewels, and buttons ornamented with paste or precious stones. These ornaments were themselves presented in additional elaborate outlines of cords and braids, yet this ostentatious use of haberdashery was dependant on the use of simple threads and unseen tapes.

For an understanding of the utilisation of haberdashery in a domestic setting, in Chapter 5. this study turned to wills, diaries, and papers such as those of the Nollis family. Unpublished personal diaries examined included those of a seventeenth-century farming family, an eighteenth-century young woman and a young man-about-town, a mature gentleman buying servant's and children's clothes, and an older lady living alone. It concluded with a small contribution from a Sussex miller.

One of the ways in which the diaries were valuable was for their demonstration of the methods by which haberdashery purchases were made. The Lindfield account, for example showed wares being acquired from two local haberdashers with visits to several markets and fairs probably accounting for more items. Several diarists paid for haberdashery as part of the bill from the third party who had carried out sewing commissions of some kind, and goods were also ordered from London via agents. The older lady's diary recorded obtaining some articles by sending her servant for individual items. She also paid a mantua maker, a milliner, and a draper for haberdashery within their bills, and she purchased some items from a caller, although it is difficult to tell the relationship between herself and the visiting 'Lady Hales.' The traders' diaries noted going on buying and selling trips, and carrying out individual commissions and deliveries. These diaries of shopkeepers and tailors drew attention to the small quantities of haberdashery involved in most transactions, together with the problems associated with the usual eighteenth-century extension of long-term credit. These accounts demonstrated, in a way that inventories with their overall listings of totals cannot, that the continued viability of shops must have depended upon considerable quantities of such small transactions.

Several of the diaries showed an increasing expenditure on things more fashionable as time went on. Haberdashery purchases in the sixteenth-century Lindfield accounts, for example, began with the basic wares of bandstrings, stockings, pins and inkle, and increased over the years to small quantities of silk lace and silver galloon. The newly married Mrs. Dodson, and Mr. Lee in the eighteenth century showed an interest in decorative haberdashery with the young man in particular buying many fashionable buttons and lace, and an expensive waistcoat with embroidery and buttons. Miss Grainger, the older lady in the later eighteenth century, purchased a notable amount of fashionable gauze and ribbon. The account book of David Norie, a London tailor, also demonstrated the influence of fashion when, for instance, he performed alterations on a coat for a client, cutting it shorter, adding a collar and inserting fashionable buttonholes. These books showed haberdashery in use in several ways, with quantities and the range of items being extended as the diarists' changing circumstances allowed them to engage more fully with changes in style. In this way they were able to participate in fashion through the purchase of luxury wares - raising and maintaining their profiles through haberdashery. For some this would be a deliberate act of fashion-conscious purchasing, for others a more sub-conscious move simply occasioned by buying what was available in their price range, which coincidentally was more fashionable.

As was shown in the section on wills in Chapter 5. an additional layer of significance was added to those items of clothing that were bequeathed. The haberdashery was often the identifying feature, investing the garment with the sense of 'remember me when you wear this,' noted by Jones and Stallybrass,<sup>885</sup> and forming a tangible, unbreakable, link with the dead. Buttons from clothing were often valuable items in themselves, to the extent that they were used as 'heirlooms,' and even within the more humble ranks were sometimes willed to family or friends.<sup>886</sup>

---

<sup>885</sup> Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000), p.204.

<sup>886</sup> See Barnston, Ralph, of Ormskirk, Lancashire. Chapman, LRO: WCW 1612 Ralph Barnston, Chapter 5.

Turning to the wares of necessity, the terminology in the sample indicates that overall the quantity and variety of threads and tapes remained surprisingly unchanged throughout the period of the study, despite changes in fibre and manufacturing technique. For instance, there were 13 varieties of thread in an inventory dated 1587, and 15 in 1700, and little difference could be seen between supplies of these ordinary wares in the north and the south. The word 'thread' appears both without any qualification and with different colours (particularly 'black and brown') throughout the period. Similarly 'silk' is present throughout, and 'twist' appears from 1600. Pins occur in fifty-five of the seventy-three inventories which include some sort of metal wares; needles, in comparison, were only present in sixteen of them. It is probable that on occasion needles were subsumed into the valuation for pins, but even making allowance for that, needles appear to be less frequently stocked. This is not surprising since needles, being more expensive and with a more limited demand, would be carried in smaller quantities<sup>887</sup> and carefully preserved.<sup>888</sup> Thimbles were recorded in twenty-four of the inventories, not always in those with needles, which can be seen as confirmation of the universal need for sewing. Necessity haberdashery has been shown in this sample to be a ubiquitous commodity, less susceptible to the fluctuations of fashion as the image-making wares.

Trade cards proved to be a fruitful area for mainly eighteenth-century information as shown in Chapter 5., to some extent bridging the gap between the meaning of the items and their personal use, something that cannot be present in the dispassionate lists of available goods in shop inventories. Although the cards were primarily a means of advertising and selling, they presented haberdashery wares in a way that created meanings. The economy of words necessitated by the lack of space made for a more thoughtful approach to the design, application, and psychology of selling, indeed considerable skill was displayed in the composition and presentation. Through a combination

---

<sup>887</sup> Blundell recorded in his diary 'I cleansed a great many Needles that were ill rustyd,' perhaps an ill effect of overstocking or slow sales. Blundell, N., *The Great Diurnal*, F. Tyler, (ed.), (Lancs: 1968), Vol.1, 01/26/1710, p. 243.

<sup>888</sup> Although pincushions and pincases for the safe storage of needles and pins are noted occasionally in inventories, they were more likely to be made at home, along with samplers. See Longman, E.D., and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions*, (London: 1911).

of pictorial reference – classical allusion for quality, implications of royal patronage, or foreign associations for the exotic and rare – and words that flattered and complimented, the customer was drawn on with desirable little artefacts that would make them an insider participating in a world of fashion. The introduction of haberdashery novelties to potential customers was more evident in trade cards than in newspaper advertising and it is through trade cards we can see haberdashery presented as a gateway, making style and fashion accessible and exciting.

The cost of production, which included the engraving of plates, meant that trade cards involved a greater outlay than newspaper advertisements, so had to be effective and lasting. Conversely the promotion of haberdashery wares in newspapers remained unappealing and lacking insight or ingenuity for some years after the inception of regular advertising of goods. Many advertisements consisted of straightforward lists of items, although some had a little more refinement, but most were also concerned with the two elements of being fashionable and being cheaper than elsewhere. However, the wider circulation of newspapers through the eighteenth century, and the judicious choice of the appropriate publication, would enable suppliers to catch the eye of a reasonable number of potential customers and inform them where the goods could be found, even if the advertisements were not imbued with aspirational concepts.

Inserted for different purposes, newspaper announcements drew attention to another area, and a different section of the public. These provided this study with a significant number of descriptions of the clothing of at least one group of people who would otherwise have remained invisible, namely the absconding apprentices, deserters and assorted felons. While these (mostly young) men may not have epitomized a large sector of the public, their clothes would probably be representative of a good number of the working poor. In addition, the clothing advertised as having been stolen from private houses or while in transit, was interesting in its status as garments that had been personally chosen and formed into a collection. These announcements, with their regular use of haberdashery as an identifying feature, and the implications that the description and recognition of such items was an obvious and accepted thing to notice in the eighteenth century, indicates



that haberdashery played a larger part in everyday life than twentieth-century historians have conceded.

## Conclusions

The aims of this study were twofold. The first concerned the identification and analysis of material that would establish the supply and availability of haberdashery wares in the early modern period. An adequate range of available sources was identified covering the two hundred and fifty years of the study. Transcription and organization of the sources gave access to sufficient data to make a valid assessment of the availability of the wares in several selected parts of the country. Analysis showed that, contrary to expectations, haberdashery wares were available nationwide throughout the period; goods for sale in London were as likely to be found in the northern and midland counties, although in more limited quantities, as they were in the traditionally affluent counties of the south of England. In addition, the quality and variety of the wares indicates that goods could be obtained across the price range throughout the period of the study, from an earlier point than had been anticipated.

The second aim was concerned with the investigation of the production, retailing, and use of haberdashery wares. It has been shown that production of the wares provided work for many thousands of people in a number of different trades. Developing from the sixteenth-century producers working mainly at home or in very small-scale manufactories, innovation in design and technological advance led to the larger-scale workshops of the later eighteenth century. It is evident from the sources that the variety of retail outlets made the goods readily accessible, and the number of traders selling the wares indicates that there was a wide demand for both necessity and luxury articles. Changes in shop design through the period, and the increasing use of printed material in the eighteenth century, increased both the availability and the appeal of the goods.

Haberdashery was an integral part of the making and wearing of garments. It has been shown, through use of wills and diaries, that clothing and its ornamentation still had the

deep personal resonance that was evident in the fourteenth century. It has been demonstrated that haberdashery played a leading role in the changing appearance of the nation over time; clothes could not be constructed, nor could developments of style be effected, without the involvement of haberdashery. Haberdashery can be seen as an essential contributor to the financial development of the early modern period and the associated spread of consumption.

# Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
BRO	Bedfordshire Record Office, Bedford
BCR/ LSH	Birmingham Central Reference, Local Studies & History
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
CRO	Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle
DRO	Devonshire Record Office, Exeter
LJRO	Lichfield Joint Record Office, Lichfield
LRO	Lancashire Record Office, Preston
LRO, Leics.	Leicestershire Record Office, Leicester
HRO	Hampshire Record Office, Winchester
HRO, Newpt.	Hampshire Record Office, Newport, Isle of Wight
HWRO	Hereford & Worcester Record Office, Worcester
NAL	National Art Library, V&A Museum, London
PRO	Public Record Office, London (now the National Archives)
SRR	Shropshire Records and Research, Shrewsbury
SRO	Staffordshire Record Office, Stafford
V&A	Victoria & Albert Museum, London
WRO	Warwickshire Record Office, Warwick
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office, Chichester

# Glossary

All the Headwords have appeared in transcribed inventories, wills or diaries.

Date: is of first appearance/use as recorded in OED

## Sources

From *THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*, Third Edition, Shorter OED., reprint with corrections, 1980, Vol. I A-M, Vol. II N-Z, and the original edition, 1933; *GLOSSARIES OF THE "ACCOUNTS OF THE MASTER OF THE REVELS"*, Ed. Albert Feuillerat, Louvain, 1908; *DRESS IN THE AGE OF ELIZABETH I*, Jane Ashelford, 1988; and *THE DRAPERS DICTIONARY*, S.W.Beck, 1886. *THE DIARY OF THOMAS TURNER*, Vaisey, David, 1984, *THE DICTIONARY OF NEEDLEWORK*, Caulfeild, S.F.A., and Seward, B.C., 1885

Shortened references:

[OED] = THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, [JAS] = Ashelford, [MOR] = Master of the Revels, [DRD] = Drapers Dictionary, [DV] = David Vaisey. [DON] = Dictionary of Needlework

AGLETS JAS/1988

[OED 1440]

Ornamental metal tags either attached to points or used in pairs with no visible tie, used as a fastening or as decoration. [JA]

ALAMODE OED/1980

1676 Silk fabric; thin light glossy black silk. [OED]

ALCHEMY OED/1980

From (1) the chemistry of the Middle Ages and sixteenth century; limited to the pursuit of the transmutation of base metals to gold.. (2) A composition, mainly of brass, imitating gold, "alchemy gold." Variant spellings: allcomy, alcomy.

APRON JAS/1988

[OED 1307]

Linen or wool aprons, with or without a bib were worn by working men and women, and by country housewives. The fashion for aprons without bibs made of fine material, fluctuated from the late sixteenth century. [JA]

BAND JAS/1988

[OED I.4a 1568]

Collar of linen worn about the neck of a shirt or smock. [JA]

BANDSTRINGS JAS/1988

[OED BAND III. 1599]

The tasselled ties that were threaded through the collar in order to fasten it. [JA]

BARRAS OED/1980

1640 A coarse linen fabric, originally from Holland. [OED]

BAWDEKYNNE MOR/1908

A rich silk stuff woven with gold. [MR]

BAY OED/1980

1581 Woollen cloth - fine light texture, introduced to England from France and Netherlands. Notably made in Colchester. Usually in the plural hence the modern corruption Baize. [OED]

BEAVER JAS/1988

The silky fur of the beaver was used to make expensive hats, which were subsequently called 'beavers'. [JA]

BEGGARS LACE DON/1885

A name given to a braid lace, a species of Torchon...It was made in the sixteenth century, and was so called as it was cheap and easily executed. BEGGARS INKLE doubtless has the same interpretation. [DON]

BENGALS OED/1980

c. 1680 Applied to piece goods (apparently of different kinds) exported from Bengal to England in the seventeenth century 1701 Wrought silk, bengalls & stuff wrought with silk [OED] Bengal silk, Bengal stripes, striped Gingham originally brought from Bengal, afterwards manufactured in Paisley. [OED]

BIB OED/1980

1. 1508 Of a child.
2. 1508 a gorget.
3. 1687 Upper part of apron [OED]

BILLIMENT JAS/1988

Also BILLAMENT. A decorative border, often made of gold and studded with jewels, that was used to edge the upper curve of a French hood and the lower (or nether) curve. Also worn separately as a hair ornament. [JA]  
[OED Also BILIMENT LACE. 1578 An ornamental lace used in the 16c for trimming.]

BINDING OED/1980

1598 Protective covering for raw edges of material - the braid or other material of this. [OED]

BIRDS-EYE OED/1980

1665 Fabric, "marked as with birds eyes - spotted" [OED]

BLACKWORK JAS/1988

[Not in OED]

Black silk embroidery on white linen. [JA]

**BOBBIN** OED/1980

1530 Spindle for holding thread or yarn. [OED]

**BOBBIN LACE** JAS/1988

A patterned lace made from threads attached to bobbins. [JA]

**BOB** OED/1980

1. 1648 Ornamental pendant, ear drop

2. 1761 A knob or knot of ribbons, coloured yarn etc. [OED]

**BODKIN** OED/1980

1. 1386 Short pointed weapon.

2. 1440 Small pointed instrument of bone, ivory or steel used for piercing holes in cloth.

3. 1580 Long pin or pin shaped ornament used by women to fasten up their hair [OED]

**BODYES** JAS/1988

Also **BODICE**. A bodice was referred to as a 'pair of bodyes' as it was made in two parts joined together at the sides. [JA]

**BOMBAST** JAS/1988

[OED 1565]

Also **BUMBAST**. Padding, to shape a garment, made from cotton wool or horsehair. [JA]

**BOMBAZINE** OED/1980

1572 A twilled or corded dress material composed of silk and worsted, sometimes also of cotton and worsted, or worsted alone. In black the fabric was much used for mourning wear. [OED]

**BONEGRACE** OED/1980

1. 1530 A shade or curtain worn on the front of women's bonnets or caps to protect the complexion from the sun; a sunshade. [OED]

2. 1606 A broad brimmed hat. [OED]

**BONE LACE** OED/1980

1574 Usually of linen threads, made by knitting upon a pattern marked by pins, with bobbins originally made of bone. A cushion for bone lace. [OED]

**BOOTHOSE** OED/1980

1588 Boothose = boot stocking. Overstocking with richly embroidered top, which would be turned down over the top of the boot. [OED]

**BOULTING CLOTH** OED/1980

Also **BOULTEL** c. 1460 A kind of cloth specially prepared for sifting such stuff as bran or coarse meal, a sieve. [OED]

**BRAID** OED/1980

'to pull a thread to and fro, to intertwine' - to embroider, to make (a garland, fabric cord) by intertwining, twisting, plaiting. [OED]

BREECHES JAS/1988

[OED 1000]

From about 1570 breeches were the alternative style of men's leg wear to trunkhose. Worn with separate stockings the garment covered the area from waist to knee. [JA]

BRUNSWICK OED/1980

1480 Town and Imperial province of Germany from which came 'obsolete textile fabric'. [OED]

BUCKRAM OED/1980

Early use, for fine linen or cotton fabric 1222, but at least by 1436 name was being used for a coarse linen or cloth stiffened with gum or paste. [OED]

BUFFIN OED/1980

1572 A coarse cloth in use for the gowns of the middle classes in the time of Elizabeth I. [OED]

BUGLES MOR/1908

Beads, generally black, used as ornament. [MR]

BUMBAST OED/1980

see BOMBAST [OED]

BUSK OED/1980

1592 A strip of whalebone, wood or steel passed down the front of a corset inside a casing, to stiffen and support it. Formerly the word was applied to the whole corset. [OED]

BUSK POINT OED/1980

A tie for securing the busk point. [OED]

BUSKIN JAS/1988

A covering for the foot or leg reaching to the calf or to the knee. [JA]

BUSTIAN OED/1980

1463 A cotton fabric of foreign manufacture, used for waistcoats and certain church vestments; sometimes described as a species of fustian, but sometimes mentioned as distinct from it. [OED]

BUTTON OED/1980

1340 A small knob or stud attached to any object for use or ornament. [OED]

CADDIS OED/1980

Also CADDACE, CADDAS. (ME) Apparent mix of two words: Sense 1. The tow or coarsest part of silk 'whereof the sleeve is made' Sense 2. Fifteenth century 'serge de laine '

1. 1400 Cotton wool, floss silk, or the like, used in padding [OED] 1530/48 Worsted yarn, crewel. Thus 1550-1600 customs duties 'cruell or caddas rybande'

2a. 1580 Short for caddis ribbon - a worsted tape or binding used for garters.  
[OED]

1536 A kind of stuff perhaps of worsted (or silk?) stuff.

CADDOW OED/1980

1579 Rough woollen covering. By 1880 quilt or cover, small cloth for horse's back. Earlier refs. cadow blankets; coarse wool; cadowes also or coverlets.  
[OED]

CAFFA MOR/1908

A kind of silk stuff, probably like damask. [MR]

CALAMANCO OED/1980

1592 A woollen stuff of Flanders, glossy on the surface and woven with a satin twill and chequered in the warp so that the checks are seen on one side only. Much used in the eighteenth century. [OED]

CALICO OED/1980

1578 Also Calicut

Name of Indian city, coast of Malabar Hence:

- a) Originally cotton cloth imported from the East
- b) 1578 Later, plain white unprinted cotton cloth.
- c) From 1840s American printed cotton cloth. [OED]

CALLES OED/1933

see CAUL

CAMBRIC OED/1980

1530

- 1. A kind of fine white linen originally made in Cambray, Flanders, - also applied to an imitation made of hand-spun cotton yarn.
- 2. The material for handkerchiefs. [OED]

CAMLET OED/1980

c.1400

- 1. Name originally applied to some beautiful and costly eastern fabric, afterwards to imitations and substitutes the nature of which changed many times over. "Originally made from silk and camels hair it is now made with wool and silk" - Johnson. A light stuff made of long wool hard spun, sometimes mixed in the loom with cotton or linen yarn - Ure. Sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, made with Angora goat hair. [OED]
- 1a. Watered camlet (with wavy or watered surface) gives name to 'camleting'. [OED]

CANIONS JAS/1988

[OED 1583]

Tubular extensions of the hose, which closely fitted the leg to below the kneecap.  
[JA]

CANVAS OED/1980



1260 A strong or coarse unbleached cloth made of hemp or flax. Used in different forms for ships sails, tents, paintings, and clothing, or for tapestry. [OED]

CARACO

A short garment, like a dress but cut off at hip-level.

CARCENET JAS/1988

[OED 1530]

Heavy necklace of gold and jewels resembling a collar. [JA]

CARD OED/1980

1. 1401 For raising knap on cloth (teasels in frame) [OED]
2. 1401 For straightening wool fibres preparatory to spinning. [OED]

CARDINAL OED/1980

1745 A short cloak worn by ladies, originally of scarlet cloth with a hood.

CARDS OED/1933

1400 Pieces of pasteboard used in games of chance, or chance and skill combined, also called specifically playing cards.

CARNATION TAPE OED/1980

1588 Colour simile. [OED]

CARRELL DRD/1886

A fabric, the nature of which is uncertain [DD]

CASSOCK OED/1980

1574 Originally a military use - a long coat, ecclesiastical use seems to have arisen in the seventeenth century. Long loose gown or coat, originally for both sexes but men only after c.1600. [OED]

CAUL OED/1980

1. 1327 A kind of close fitting cap worn by woman: a net for the hair: a netted cap or headdress often richly ornamented. [OED]
2. 1693 Netted structure of a wig. [OED]
3. 1740 Hinder portion of a woman's cap. [OED]
3. 1577 A net for wrapping something in - any ornamental network. [OED]

CHAIN LACE OED/1980

1578 Lace made with chain stitch. [OED]

CHAMOIS SKIN OED/1980

1575 Soft leather originally from the chamois (a European capriiform antelope), later from sheep, goats, deer and calves. [OED]

CHEESE CLOTH OED/1980

1640 [Type of] Cloth in which curds are pressed. [OED]

CHEMISE JAS/1988

[OED c.1050]

Smock; lady's linen undergarment. [JA]

CHILDBED LINEN OED/1980

1716 (by attribution) linen used for/by women in labour. [OED]

CHIN CLOTH OED/1980

(-BAND, -CLOUT) 1632 Band or cloth passing under the chin worn by women. [OED]

CLASP OED/1980

1325 A means of fastening, generally of metals, consisting of 2 interlocking pieces. [OED]

CLOAK-BAG OED/1980

A bag in which to carry a cloak or other clothes; a portmanteau 1632 "...delivering me the keys of their 3 clogbaggs". [OED]

CLOSE-BODIED GOWN JAS/1988

Gown shaped to the waist, then falling in folds to the ground. [JA]

CLOTH OF GOLD OED/1980

1386 Material woven with warp of gold threads and weft of silk. [OED]

CODPIECE OED/1980

Bag-like appendage concealing the opening in front of men's hose. [JA] 1460 Attached by points and or buttons to the hose, codpieces were often padded and decorated. [OED]

COIFE OED/1980

1450 Close fitting linen cap covering top back and sides of head; a) early use, tied under the chin, for outdoor wear, both sexes, b) later use by men as night cap, skull cap or under cap, c) by women indoors under a bonnet. [OED]

COMB OED/1980

1330 A strip of wood, bone, horn, metal etc with indentations forming a series of teeth, or with teeth inserted along one or both edges, for disentangling, cleaning and arranging hair; also in ornamental forms worn by women to keep the hair in place. Also in treatment of wool before weaving. [OED]

CONY OED/1980

Also CONEY. Rabbit fur. [OED]

CORDING OED/1980

1300 A string composed of several strands twisted or woven together. [OED]

COTTON OED/1980

1. 1300 White fibrous substance, soft and downy like wool, which covers the seed of the cotton plant used to make cloth and thread. [OED]

2. a) 1290 Fibre used for wick of candles. 'weeke or cotton of candles. 1598' b) 1848 [?] Thread spun from cotton yarn. [OED] c) 1460 Cloth of fabric made of cotton. [OED]

COTTONS OED/1980

1523 A woollen fabric of the nature of frieze, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, largely manufactured in Lancashire, Westmorland and Wales "the poorer sort do line their clothes with cotton-cloth which is made of the finest wool they can pick out. 1598 ..certain woollen clothes there wrought and in great request, commonly called Manchester cottons. 1610 " a sort of frieze called cotton..from the West Indies for the use of the slaves.1754. As verb 'to cotton' - to form a down or nap, to furnish with a nap, to frieze. [OED]

COVENTRY (THREAD) OED/1980

1581 A kind of blue thread manufactured at Coventry and used for embroidery. [OED]

CRAPE OED/1980

1633 Anglicised spelling of crepe (fr.) from crisped, curled or frizzled. A thin transparent gauze-like fabric, plain woven, without any twill, have highly twisted raw silk or other staple, and mechanically embossed so as to have a crisped or minutely wrinkled surface. The name originally comprised fine worsted fabrics, later applied to silk, especially black silk, fabrics. The crape for which Norwich was formerly famous was a plain cloth of silk warp and worsted weft, which afterwards degenerated into Bombazine. [OED]

CRAVAT OED/1980

1656 An article of dress worn round the neck, chiefly by men " ..a new fashioned gorget which women wear. 1656" but by 1674 "cravat ..that linen which is worn about men's necks" [OED]

CREWEL OED/1980

1494 1. A thin worsted yarn, used for tapestry and embroidery. [OED] 2. Short for crewel-work. [OED]

CRIPPEN JAS/1988

Also CREPINE, CRESPIN. A crimped or pleated frill. [JA]

CROSS-CLOTHS OED/1980

1699 A linen cloth worn across the forehead. [OED]

CRISP OED/1980

(ME) 1300 A crape-like material, used for veils, etc; also a veil, etc. made of this [OED]

CUT-WORK OED/1980

1470 Needle lace of Italian origin made by cutting out squares from fabric and filling the spaces with embroidery in geometric designs. Also called reticella. [OED]

CYPRESS OED/1980

Also CYPRES. 1. A name of textile fabrics originally brought from, or through, Cyprus. a) Cloth of gold or the like. (b) 1603 A valuable satin called also 'Satin of

Cypres, satin Cypres'. (c) 1722 Cypres lawn, a light transparent material resembling cobweb lawn or crape. [OED]  
2. 1717 A piece of Cypress used in sign of mourning and the like. [OED] 3. 1678 Attribute of Cypress, 1713 Cypress-like in texture or colour. [OED]

**DAMASK** OED/1980

1. 1430 Substance originally produced at Damascus, ancient Syrian city. A rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs and figures. Also applied to fabrics of wool, cotton or linen. [OED]
2. A twilled linen fabric woven with designs which show up by opposite reflections of light from the surface, used chiefly for table linen. [OED]
3. Damask stitch - satin stitch on linen foundation. [OED]

**DENIM** OED/1980

1695 From Fr. serge de Nimes, serge from town of Nimes in southern France. Originally a kind of serge; later a twilled cotton. [OED]

**DIAPER** OED/1980

- (ME) 1. The name of a textile fabric; now usually linen fabric, woven with patterns showing up by opposite reflections from its surface, and consisting of lines, leaves, dots etc. [OED]  
2. Towel, cloth or napkin of this material, baby's napkin from 1596. [OED]

**DIMITY** OED/1980

(ME) A stout cotton cloth, woven with raised stripes and fancy figures; used undyed for beds and hangings, and sometimes for garments. [OED]

**DORNICK** OED/1980

A coarse kind of damask, made at Dorneck - the Dutch name for Tournay. [OED]

**DOUBLET** JAS/1988

[OED 1326]

Close fitting upper garment worn over the shirt, mainly by men. [JA]

**DOWLAS** OED/1980

1493 From Doulais, SE of Brest in Brittany. [OED]

1. A coarse kind of linen much used in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
2. A strong calico, made later in imitation of this. [OED]

**DRAWERS** OED/1980

1567 A garment for the lower part of the body and legs, usually under-hose worn next to the skin. [OED]

**DROLE** OED/1980

1641 Something humorous or funny, thus: a) 1641 A caricature b) 1654 Facetious story [OED] [But NB, found in retail inventories as items for sale]

**DRUGGET** OED/1980

1. 1580 Formerly, a kind of stuff all of wool or half wool, half silk or linen, used for wearing apparel. [OED]
2. 1713 Later, coarse woollen stuff used for floor coverings. [OED]

DUCAPE OED/1980

1678 A plain-wove stout silk facing of softer texture than 'Gros de Naples'. [OED]

DUCK OED/1980

1640 A strong untwilled linen (later cotton) fabric, lighter and finer than canvas, used for small sails and men's (especially sailors') clothing. [OED]

DUFFLE OED/1980

Coarse woollen cloth with thick nap, from Duffel in Belgium. [OED]

Also DUFFEL

DURRY OED/1980

(Probably) DUROY 1619 A kind of coarse woollen fabric, akin to tammy [Not the same as corduroy]. [OED]

DUTCH CLOAK JAS/1988

A sleeved cloak, usually guarded. [JA]

EDGING LACE OED/1980

1580 Lace used to edge garments. [OED]

FALLING BAND JAS/1988

[OED 1599]

A shirt collar that has been turned down. [JA]

FARTHINGALE JAS/1988

[OED 1552]

Under structure consisting of a series of connected hoops increasing in circumference from the waist to the feet. [JA]

FERRET OED/1980

1. 1576 Ferret silk = floss silk

2. 1649 Stout cotton, or silk, tape. [OED]

FIGURED OED/1980

1489 Adorned with patterns or designs, e.g. figured satin. [OED]

FILLET OED/1980

(ME) From filum: thread

1. 1327 A headband of any material, used for binding the hair, for keeping the head-dress in position, or for ornament. [OED]

2. 1601 A strip of any material suitable for binding; a band or bandage. [OED]

FILLETING OED/1980

1598 a tape for binding; a headband, 1648. [OED]; ornamental lines, 1747 [OED]

FLANDERS OED/1980

Short for Flanders lace. [OED]

FLANNEL OED/1980

1. 1503 An open woollen stuff of loose texture, usually without a nap. [OED]
2. 1722 Underclothing, bandages or garments made of flannel. [OED]

#### FLAX OED/1980

- (OE) 1. The plant *linum usitatissimum* cultivated for its seeds, known as linseed, for oil, and its textile fibre. [OED]
2. The fibres of the plant whether dressed or undressed. [OED]
  3. A material of which a candle or lamp wick is made; the wick itself.
  4. Cloth made of flax; linen O.E. Flax hackle: an instrument for hackling, or straightening the fibres of the flax. [OED]

#### FLAXEN OED/1980

- 1521 Made of flax or the colour of dressed flax. [OED]

#### FLOSS OED/1980

- 1759 The rough silk which envelops the cocoon of the silkworm, hence a) the rough silk broken off in the winding of cocoons, b) the untwisted filaments of silk used in embroidery and crewel-work. [OED]

#### FOREHEAD CLOTH JAS/1988

- Triangular piece of material worn with a matching coif. [JA]

#### FRENCH FARTHINGALE OED/1980

- 1592 Wheel shaped structure worn under the skirt, which would be carried out at right angles and pinned to the 'wheel' before falling vertically to the feet. It was worn with a slight tilt forward, the angle becoming more pronounced after 1600. [OED]

#### FRENCH HOOD OED/1980

- 1541 A small hood worn far back on the head. It consisted of a curved front border and a horseshoe shaped curve on the top of the crown. [OED]

#### FRIEZE OED/1980

- (ME) Origin: wool or cloth from Friesland.

- 1509 1. A kind of coarse woollen cloth, with a nap, usually on one side only; later use esp. of Irish make. Friezed: of cloth, having a nap. To frieze: to cover with a nap. [OED]

#### FRIEZE 2 OED/1980

- Also, from Frieze - used architecturally as decorated band or upper panel: to frieze - to embroider with silver or gold. 1577. [OED]

#### FRIZADO JAS/1988

- A woollen cloth similar to frieze but of better quality. [JA]

#### FROCK OED/1980

- (ME) 1. Long habit with large open sleeves; ecclesiastical use. [OED] 2. (ME) Upper garment worn chiefly by men; a long coat, tunic or mantle 3. 1668 An overall - a smock-frock, [OED]
4. 1538 The outer garment for indoor wear, of women and children, consisting of a bodice and skirt; a gown, dress.

5. A coat with long skirts; a frock-coat 1719; similar coat used as military uniform 1753. [OED]

See also ROUND-FROCK

FUSTIAN OED/1980

(ME) Origin: cloth of Fostat, suburb of Cairo, from which such cloth was imported.

1. c. 1200 Originally a coarse cloth made of cotton and flax. Later a thick, twilled cotton cloth with a short nap or pile usually dyed of a dark colour.

2. 1424 Also a blanket of this material. Thus: made of fustian. [OED]

3. 1465 Fustian of Naples, a kind of cotton velvet.

FUSTIC OED/1980

1545 Two kinds of wood, used for dying yellow. [OED]

GAITERING OED/1980

1775 A covering of cloth, leather, etc. for the ankle, or ankle and lower leg. [OED]

GALLIGASKINS JAS/1988

Full baggy breeches. [JA]

GALLOON OED/1980

1604 A kind of narrow, close-woven ribbon or braid, of gold silver or silk thread, used for trimming articles of apparel; a trimming of this. [OED]

GALL OED/1980

(ME) An excrescence produced on trees, esp. the oak, by the action of insects.

Used in the manufacture of ink and tannin as well as in dying and medicine.

[OED]

GARTER OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1382 A band worn round the leg, either above or below the knee, to keep the stocking in place. Hence: gartering. [OED]

2. 1593 A similar band worn as belt or sash.

GAUZE OED/1980

Origin: probably Gaza in Palestine

1561 A very thin, transparent fabric of silk, linen, or cotton; also any similar fabric, as wire-gauze, gauze-net, etc. [OED]

GILT OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1492 Gilt plate

2. 1593 Gilding. [OED]

GIMP OED/1980

1. 1664 Silk, worsted or cotton twist with a cord or wire running through it. Later, a kind of trimming made of this. [OED]

2. 1747 A neckerchief, probably from Fr. guimpe, wimple, as worn by a nun. To gimp: To give a scalloped or indented edge. 1697. To trim with gimp. 1755. To whip or twine (wire etc.) into a plait or twist of something softer. [OED]

GINGHAM OED/1980

Origin: probably through Dutch/Malay words meaning 'striped'  
1615 A kind of cotton or linen cloth, woven of dyed yarn, often in stripes or checks. Fabrics of this kind. [OED]

GIRDLE OED/1980

(ME) c. 1000 A belt worn round the waist to confine the garments; also used to carry a weapon, a purse, etc. Hence: girdling [OED]

GLAZE OED/1980

1700 A coating used to produce a smooth and glossy surface. [OED]

GLOVES OED/1980

(OE) c. 1205 A covering for the hand with a separate sheath for each finger. [OED]

GLOVE OED/1980

In hat making, a smooth piece of wood, fastened to the hand by a string, employed in rubbing the sheets of felt at the 'battery'. [OED] ?Glove sticks: as above? Or as a glove stretcher?

GORGET OED/1980

1. 1470 A piece of armour for the throat; by transf. 1629 a collar. [OED]
2. 1575 An article of female dress covering the neck and breast; a wimple. [OED]
3. 1570 An ornament for the neck, a necklace. [OED]

GRAINS OED/1980

1. (ME) 1335 With reference to dyeing 1. Kermes or Scarlet Grain, later also cochineal. Also the dye from either of these. [OED]
2. 1377 Dye in general, especially a fast dye; colour, hue. Hence: ingrained. [OED]

GRAVE OED/1980

1611 Of colour, dress, etc., dull, sombre, not gay or showy. [OED]

GROGRAM OED/1980

- Origin: Fr. gros grain - coarse grain.
1. 1562 A coarse fabric of silk, of mohair and wool, or of these mixed with silk; often stiffened with gum. [OED]
  2. 1633 A garment made of grogram [OED]

GUARD JAS/1988

[OED 11.1529]

Band of material used either as a decorative border or to cover a seam. Usually of contrasting material and colour to the garment. [JA]

HANDKERCHIEF OED/1980

1530 A small square of linen, silk or other fabric, carried in the hand or pocket, for wiping the face, hands or nose; used as a kerchief to cover the head, or worn about the neck. [OED]



HANGERS JAS/1988

Support for a sword that was attached to the sword belt. [JA]

HANGING SLEEVE JAS/1988

A false decorative sleeve matching the doublet or bodice. [JA]

HANGING SPANGLES JAS/1988

Sequins attached to wires. [JA]

HEAD-RAIL JAS/1988

A square of starched linen arranged round the head; during the late sixteenth century it was trimmed with lace and spangles and wired into decorative shapes. [JA]

HARDEN OED/1980

Also HURDEN. (late ME) 1430 Coarse fabric made from hards, or hurds - the coarser parts of flax or hemp; tow. [OED]

HAT BAND OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1412 A band or narrow ribbon, put round the hat above the brim. [OED]  
2. 1598 A band of crape etc. worn round the hat as a sign of mourning. [OED]

HEMP OED/1980

(OE) 1. c. 1300 An annual herbaceous plant - the cortical fibre of which was used for making cordage, and was woven into stout fabrics. [OED]  
2. 1597 Applied to other plants producing similar fibre.  
Hence: hempen; made of hemp. Hempen; resembling hemp; hempen cloth. [OED]

HOG RING OED/1980

A ring put in the snout of a pig to stop grubbing. [OED]

HOLLAND OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1400 (?) the name of a province of the Netherlands from whence came:  
2. 1427 a linen fabric.  
3. Used in combination, e.g. Holland-cloth. Brown holland: unbleached linen cloth. [OED]

HOOD OED/1980

(OE) c.1200 A covering for the head and neck, and sometimes shoulders. [OED]

HOOK AND EYE OED/1980

[INV date 1578] [OED date 1625] A metallic fastening, esp. for a dress, consisting of a hook of flattened wire, and an eye, or wire loop on which the hook catches. [OED]

HORN-BOOK OED/1980

1588 A leaf of paper containing the alphabet (often also the ten digits, some elements of spelling, the Lord's Prayer) protected by a thin plate of translucent horn and mounted on a tablet of wood with a handle. [OED]

HOSE OED/1980

(late OE) 1. c.1200 An article of clothing for the leg, sometimes covering the foot. [OED]

2. 1460 Breeches, drawers, esp. as Doublet and hose, typical male apparel covering the body from the waist down. Until mid-seventeenth century the term was applied only to the upper portion, while stockings were referred to as nether stocks or stockings. [OED]

3. As stockings reaching to the knee from mid-seventeenth century. [OED]

INDIGO OED/1980

1555 A deep blue dye obtained from a plant. [OED]

INKHORN OED/1980

(ME) 1382 A small portable vessel, originally made of horn, for holding writing ink. [OED]

INKLE OED/1980

1541 A kind of linen tape, or (1545) the thread or yarn from which it is made. [OED]

IRISH CLOTH OED/1980

1799 Term used for linen. [OED]

JACKET OED/1980

1462 Waist length garment worn for warmth. Originally the same or a shorter form of the jack. [OED]

JERKIN OED/1980

1519 A garment for the upper part of the body, usually worn by men, sleeved or sleeveless, a fitted garment worn over the doublet, often made of leather. [OED]

JEAN OED/1980

1488 Originally: ge(a)ne fustian, from Genoa, Genoese.

1. 1567 A twilled cotton cloth; a kind of fustian. [OED]

JERSEY OED/1980

Largest of the Channel Islands, name used attrib: 1. 1583 Of Jersey, Jersey worsted. [OED]

2a. 1587 Jersey knitted work; Jersey worsted, worsted generally. [OED] 2b. 1657 Wool that has been combed and is ready for spinning. [OED]

KEEPER OED/1980

c.1575 A mechanical device for keeping something in its place, a catch, clasp etc., spec. a loop securing the end of a buckled strap; a ring that keeps another on the finger. [OED]

KENDALL OED/1980

1389 A coarse woollen cloth, usually green, woven in Kendal, in Westmorland. [OED]

KERMES OED/1980

1598 The pregnant female of the insect *Coccus iicis*, formerly supposed to be a berry; gathered in large quantities from a species of evergreen oak in S. Europe and W. Africa, for use in dyeing and formerly in medicine; the red dye stuff consisting of the dried bodies of these insects. [OED]

#### KERSEY OED/1980

(ME) Origin: probably from Kersey in Suffolk

1. 1390 A kind of coarse narrow cloth, woven from long wool, and usually ribbed. [OED]

2. A piece of kersey of a definite size, 18 yds long and a nail & a half in width; also a make of kersey, chiefly in plural, 1465. [OED] Named varieties in 1552 rates: ordinary, sorting, Devonshire (called dozens), and check, length between 17 and 18 yards.

3. Made of kersey, 1577; figurative attribution - plain, homely 1588. [OED]

#### KERSEYMERE OED/1980

1798 1. A twilled fine woollen cloth of a peculiar texture, one third of the warp being always above, and two thirds below, each shoot of the weft. [OED]

#### KIRTLE OED/1980

Before 1545 the term denoted bodice and skirt, after that date the skirt alone. [OED]

#### KNITTING NEEDLE OED/1980

1598 A long straight blunt needle, or slender rod, used two or more at a time, in knitting. [NB OED notes Knitting pin 1870 - qv. Almey inv.1665]

#### KNOTS OED/1980

(ME) c. 1400 A tie worn as an ornament or adjunct to a dress, e.g. breast-knot, shoulder-knot, top-knot: a bow of ribbon; a cockade or epaulette. [OED]

#### LACE OED/1980

(ME) 1.c.1300 A string or cord serving to draw together opposite edges e.g. of dress, boots, etc., by being passed through eyelet holes or over hooks. [OED]

2. 1548 Ornamental braid for trimming clothes e.g. gold lace, silver lace.

3. 1555 Delicate openwork fabric of linen, cotton, silk, woollen or metal threads, usually with inwrought or applied patterns. [OED]

#### LAWN OED/1980

(ME) origin: probably from Laon, a town in France, an important place of linen manufacture.

1. 1415 A kind of fine linen, resembling cambric.

2. 1480 Article of dress made of lawn.

3. 1732 Specifically: this fabric used for sleeves of Episcopal dress, 1640. [OED]

#### LEADING STRINGS OED/1980

1677 Strings with which children were guided and supported when learning to walk. [OED]

#### LEAR OED/1933

1382 Tape, binding for the edges of fabric. [OED]

**LINEN** OED/1980

- (OE) 1a. c.900 Cloth woven from flax, ranging in quality from coarse buckram and dowlas to fine lawn for ruffs and collars. ME. 1b. Kinds of linen; linen goods. [OED]
2. 1566 Something made of linen. [OED]
3. fr. 1330 Collectively, garments etc made of linen, or by extension, of calico. Often specifically undergarments, e.g. shirts. Also bed linen, table linen. ME.
4. Strips of linen, esp. for use as bandages; plural, as grave clothes. [OED]

**LINIMENT** OED/1980

- (ME) 1. c. 1420 Something used for smearing or anointing. [OED]
2. 1543. An embrocation usually made with oil. [OED]

**LINING** OED/1980

- (ME) 1. 1402 The stuff with which garments are lined. Also 1614, drawers or underclothes, used figuratively. [OED]
2. 1713 Any material occurring or placed next beneath the outside of one. [OED]

**LINSEY** OED/1980

- (ME) Probable origin from Lindsey, near Kersey, in Suffolk, where the manufacture is said to have originated.
- 1435 Originally perhaps some coarse linen fabric. [OED]

**LINSEY-WOOLSEY** OED/1980

- 1483 Orig. a textile material, of mixed wool and flax; later, a dress material of coarse inferior wool woven upon a cotton warp. Also in the plural, pieces or kinds of this. [OED]

**LIQUORICE** OED/1980

- (ME) c. 1200 A plant; its root; and substances prepared for either sweetmeat or medicinal use from it. [OED]

**LOCKRAM** OED/1980

- 1483 From name of a village in Brittany, where formerly made. A linen fabric of various qualities; an article made of this; plural, pieces of this. [OED]

**LOOKING-GLASS** OED/1980

- 1526 a mirror [OED]

**LOOMWORK** OED/1980

- (ME) 1. 1598 Work produced by the process of weaving
2. c.1300 An open vessel, such as a bucket or vat, or c. 900 tool (ME) of any kind. [OED]

**LOOP LACE** OED/1980

- 1698 A kind of lace consisting of patterns wrought upon a ground of fine net. [OED]

**LOOSE GOWN** JAS/1988

An overgarment that fell in loose folds from the shoulders. Also called an open gown. [JA]

LOVE OED/1980

1650-1829 "A kind of thin silk stuff" Johnson, formerly used when in mourning; a border of this. Also love-hood, love ribbon. [OED]

LUKES OED/1980

1536 A velvet made at Liege, a town and province of Belgium. [OED]

LUSTRING OED/1980

1697 From It., said to have been made first in Genoa, and lustre. A glossy silk fabric. [OED]

LUTESTRING OED/1980

1471 Appears to be an alternative version of 'lustring' which, however, is evidenced somewhat later. A kind of glossy silk fabric; a dress or a ribbon of this. [OED]

LYER MOR/1908

Tape. [MR]

LYRE OED/1933

1390 The name of a town in Brabant, later Lire or Liere, occurring in the designations of certain kinds of cloth, as 'black of lyre', 'green of lyre'. [OED]

MACE OED/1980

(ME) 1377 Allspice, the dried outer covering of the nutmeg. [OED]

MALED MOR/1908

Marked with males or spots. [MR]

[MOLE in OED is given as the favoured form, but in the quotes MALE or MAIL seem at least as common]

MANCHESTER OED/1980

1552 City in Lancashire, the chief seat of the English cotton manufacture. Used as in M. cottons, M. wares etc.; cotton goods manufactured at Manchester. [OED]  
e.g. Manchesters, Manchester tape, Manchestering

MANDILLION JAS/1988

A loose jacket with a standing collar and hanging sleeves. [JA]

MANTLE OED/1980

1. c. 897 A long sleeveless cloak of varying length. [OED]
2. (Often with the appellation 'Irish') a kind of blanket or paid worn until the 17c by the Irish, often as their only covering. [OED]

MANTLE JAS/1988

When worn with a masque dress it was draped asymmetrically across the body.  
When worn on ceremonial occasions, a long garment reaching to the ground, and open in front. Also called a veil in inventories and appears to have been worn like a shawl. [JA]

MARY STUART HOOD JAS/1988

[Not in OED]

A hood that was wired into a heart shape. [JA]

MASKS OED/1980

1534 Probably from masques. A face covering with eye holes, often of velvet or silk. [OED]

MAZERINE OED/1980

1684 Perhaps from name of Cardinal Jules Mazarin 1602-1661, or the Duchesse de Maxarin, d.1699.

1. 1686 A deep rich blue colour. [OED]
2. 1694 A stuff or a garment of this colour. Hence: mazerino silk [OED]

MOHAIR OED/1980

1. 1570 A kind of fine camlet made from the hair of the Angora goat, sometimes watered. Also yarn made from this hair. Later, imitation of this made of mixture of wool and cotton. [OED]
2. 1673 A garment made of such material. [OED]
3. 1753 The hair of the Angora goat. [OED]

MOLASSES OED/1980

1570 Thick viscid syrup drained from raw sugar in the process of manufacture. [OED]

MUFF OED/1980

1599 A covering, usually cylindrical and made of fur, for the hands or feet. [OED]

MUFFETEE OED/1980

1. 1706 A muffler worn round the neck. [OED]
2. 1808 A worsted cuff worn on the wrist

MULES JAS/1988

Flat backless shoes. [JA]

MURREY MOR/1908

A dark reddish brown colour. [MR]

MUSLIN OED/1980

1609 From Mosul in Mesopotamia, where muslin was formerly made. General name for the most delicately woven cotton fabrics, used for ladies dresses, curtains, hangings etc. Also a garment of this. [OED]

NECKBAND OED/1980

1. 1446 A band for the neck

2. 1591 That part of a garment which encircles the neck. [OED]

NECKCLOTH OED/1980

1639 A cloth worn round the neck; a cravat. [OED]

NECKERCHIEF OED/1980

(late ME) 1382 A kerchief worn round the neck. Also neck-handkerchief. [OED]

NEEDLE OED/1980

(OE) c. 725 Small and slender piece of metal having a fine point at one end and a hole, or eye, at the other for thread. Hence; needle lace: lace made with a needle as opposed to a bobbin: needle work: sewing, esp. embroidery done with a needle. needle point: point lace made with a needle. 1719 Knitting or netting needle, or pin. [OED]

NETWORK JAS/1988

Lace consisting of a ground of square meshes on which is the pattern is worked. [JA]

NIGHTCAP OED/1980

(late ME) 1386 A covering for the head, worn especially in bed. [OED] [Other sources, e.g. Ashelford, note: usually linen, embroidered, worn mostly by men indoors, but not necessarily in bed.]

NIGHT CLOTHES OED/1980

1. 1602 Such garments as are worn in bed. [OED]
2. 1667 Negligee or informal dress worn in the evening. [OED]

NIGHT DRESS OED/1980

1712 A nightgown or other dress worn in bed. [OED]

NIGHT GOWN OED/1980

(late ME) 1. c. 1400 A loose gown especially for putting on at night; a dressing gown

2. 1700 A kind of gown worn by ladies in the eighteenth century as an evening dress. [OED]

[Ashelford notes: fifteenth & sixteenth centuries, loose lined gown worn by men & women either indoors for warmth and comfort or outdoors as an overgarment.

Usually fur lined. [JA]

OES JAS/1988

Small metal rings or eyelets used to decorate the surface of material. [JA]

OSNABURG OED/1980

1545 Corrupt spelling for Osnabruck in North Germany. A kind of coarse linen, originally made in Osnabruck. [OED]

PACKTHREAD OED/1980

(ME) 1341 Stout thread or twine for sewing or tying up packs or bundles. [OED]

PANE JAS/1988

Method of decorating garments either 1. by slashing the whole length vertically, leaving top and bottom joined, or  
2. by applying separate strips or panels of material attached top and bottom to the background. [JA]

PAPER OED/1980

(late ME) 1. c. 1300 Substance composed of fibres interlaced in to a compact web, made by macerating, drying and pressing such materials as linen and cotton rags, straw etc., used for writing, printing or drawing upon, for wrapping etc. [OED]  
2. 1670 Substances made from paper pulp, as mill-board, papier-maché, etc.  
3. 1511 A piece of this used as a wrapping or receptacle and often including the contents: a paper of pins, needles. [OED]

PANTOFLES JAS/1988

Overshoes with long front uppers and thick cork soles. [JA]

PARCHMENT OED/1980

(ME) c. 1300 The skin of sheep or goat etc., dressed and prepared for writing, painting etc. [OED]

PARCHMENT LACE OED/1980

Also PARCEMANE:

1542 A kind of lace, braid or cord, the core of which was parchment; (Mrs. Palliser) or; (Cotgrave) from the Fr. 'pasement' referring to a lace made over a parchment pattern. [OED]

PARTLET JAS/1988

Decorative accessory, which covered the upper part of the chest and was attached to the bodice. [JA]

PASTEBOARD OED/1980

1. 1548 A substitute for a thin wooden board made by pasting sheets of paper together, esp. a board of a book so made. [OED]  
2. 1562 A stiff firm substance made by pasting together, compressing, and rolling three or more sheets of paper; a piece of this. [OED]

PATTENS OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1390 Name applied at different periods to different kinds of footwear, e.g. wooden shoe or clog, 'chopins'.  
1b. 1575 An overshoe worn to raise the ordinary shoes out of the wet or mud, consisting of a wooden sole mounted on an oval iron ring. [OED]

PATTERN OED/1980

(ME) 1369 Model, design or plan after which something is to be made. [OED]

PEAK OED/1980

1530 The projecting front of a widow's hood. [OED]

PEASCOD OED/1980

Name given to the exaggerated style of the doublet front fashionable in the late 1500s. [OED]



PENDANT OED/1980

(ME) Loose hanging ornament, chiefly precious metal or stone attached to jewellery, occasionally ornamental fringe. 1555. [OED]

PERSIAN OED/1980

(late ME) 1. 1632 Specific names of productions found in or imported from Persia, e.g. carpet. [OED]

2. 1696 A thin soft silk used for linings: Persia silk. [OED]

PERUKE OED/1980

1548 A natural head of hair, in 1565 a false peruke = a periwig or wig, but OED records 'periwig' date as 1529.

PETTICOAT OED/1980

(late ME) (petty coat - little coat)

1a. Garment worn by women, girls and young children; specifically, a skirt as distinct from a bodice, worn either externally or beneath the gown or frock

1b. An underskirt. [OED]

1c. The skirt of a woman's riding habit. [OED]

2. Skirts collectively; also skirts worn by young children, 1600. [OED]

PICKADIL JAS/1988

1. Tabs set at right angles to form a border. [JA]

2. Wired or stiffened support for a standing band or ruff. Similar to an underpropper. [JA]

PINAFORE OED/1980

1782 A covering of washable material worn by children and others over the clothing to protect it from soiling. [OED]

PINCUSHION OED/1980

1632 A small cushion used for sticking pins in, to keep them ready for use. [OED]

PINKING JAS/1988

Small holes or slits cut into material and arranged to form a pattern. [JA]

PINNER OED/1980

1652 A coif with two long flaps, one on each side, pinned on and hanging down; worn by women, especially those of rank in seventeenth & eighteenth centuries. [OED]

PINS OED/1980

(late OE) 1380 A slender piece of wire with sharp tapered point and flattened round head, used for fastening together parts of dress (the most frequent use, late ME). [OED]

PLUSH OED/1980

1594 A kind of cloth, of silk, cotton, wool etc., having a nap softer and longer than that of velvet, most often used for upholstery etc. [OED]

POINT OED/1980

(late ME) 1390 A metal-tagged lace or cord for attaching the doublet to hose, lacing a bodice, etc. From the French, AGLET or metal point of a lace or cord thence a lace with an aglet. English (on the whole) retained aglet for the metal point or tag, and translated it by 'point' for the cord. [OED]

POINT LACE OED/1980

(from fifteenth and sixteenth century) 1662 Thread lace made wholly with the needle on a parchment pattern, as distinct from that made with bones or bobbins on a pillow. Also improperly applied to pillow lace imitating that done with the needle, and occasionally to lace generally. Hence: a piece of lace, used as a kerchief etc. [OED]

POLDAVY OED/1980

1481 Origin: probably from Poldavide town in Brittany, whence the art of making the stuff was introduced. A coarse canvas or sacking, formerly much used for sailcloth. [OED]

POLONAISE OED/1933

1773 Dress or overdress with the bodice closed and the skirt open from the waist downward and looped up.

Also Polonese, 1755: the material for such a dress

POLONEY OED/1933

? 'Polonian' = a Pole, something Polish. Thus possibly polish cloth. [OED]

1813 A garment worn by young boys, especially in Scotland after the style of the POLONAISE. [OED]

POPLIN OED/1980

1710 Dubiously held to be named from 'papalino' because its town of origin, Avignon, was a papal town from 1309-1791. A mixed woven fabric, consisting of a silk warp and worsted weft, and having a corded surface; later made in Ireland. [OED]

POWDER BLUE OED/1980

(1681?) Powdered smalt, especially for use in laundry work. [OED]

[Smalt, 1558: a species of glass, usually coloured a deep blue by oxide of cobalt, after cooling finely pulverised for use as a pigment or colouring matter]

PRIMERS OED/1980

(late ME) 1386 Elementary school book for teaching children to read. [OED]

PUFF OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1601 A rounded soft protuberant mass formed by gathering in the stuff at the edges and leaving it full in the middle as if inflated. A similar mass formed of ribbons or small feathers. [OED] 2. 1658 A small pad of down or the like for applying powder to the hair or skin. [OED]

PUKE JAS/1988

A woollen textile dyed before weaving, of varying quality. [JA]

PUKE OED/1933

1. 1466 A superior kind of woollen cloth, of which gowns were made.
2. 1530 A colour formerly used for woollen goods: as it was produced by galls and copperas it must have been a bluish black or inky colour, but it is variously described.

PURL OED/1980

1. 1535 Thread or cord made of twisted gold or silver wire, used for bordering or embroidering. [OED]
2. 1611 Each of the minute loops or twists used to ornament the edges of lace, braid, ribbon, etc., hence, collectively, a series or chain of such loops. [OED]
3. The pleat or fold of a ruff or band, as worn c. 1600; a frill. [OED]]

PURSE OED/1980

(OE) 1100 A small pouch or bag of leather or other flexible material, originally a small bag drawn together at the mouth with a thong or strings. [OED]

PUTTY OED/1980

1. 1633 A powder of calcined tin, or calcined tin and lead, used for polishing glass or lead. [OED]
2. 1663. A fine mortar or cement made of lime and water without sand. [OED]
3. 1706 A stiff paste used in fixing panes of glass etc. [OED]

QUICKSILVER OED/1980

(OE) c.1000 The metal, mercury, in fluid form. Used, with tin, to coat the back of glass to give reflective quality. [OED]

QUILLS OED/1980

- (late ME) 1. 1412 A piece of reed or other stem on which yarn is wound; hence, a bobbin, spool or pirn of any material. [OED]
2. 1552. Feather of a goose etc., formed into a pen by pointing and slitting the lower end of the barrel. [OED]
  3. 1712 To form into cylindrical pleats or folds resembling a quill; to goffer. Hence; Quilling; the action of the verb, a ribbon strip of lace etc., pleated into small cylindrical folds resembling a row of quills. [OED]

RAIL JAS/1988

Square of material folded horizontally and worn on the head or round the shoulders as a shawl. [JA]

RASH OED/1980

1578 A smooth textile fabric made of silk (silk rash) or worsted (cloth rash). [OED]

RAZOR OED/1980

(ME) c.1290 A sharp edged instrument, especially used for shaving the beard or hair. [OED]

REBATO JAS/1988

Shaped collar pinned to the bodice and wired to stand up round the back of the head. [JA]

RESIN OED/1980

(late ME) 1618 Vegetable product, used in varnishes and pharmacy. [OED]

RIBBON OED/1980

1527 A narrow woven band of some fine material, such as silk or satin, used to ornament clothing or headgear, etc. Particular kinds and makes. [OED]

ROLLS OED/1980

(late ME) 1. 1378 A quantity of material wound up in a cylindrical form, sometimes forming a definite measure. [OED]

2. 1538 A round cushion or pad of hair or other material forming part of a woman's headdress. [OED]

3. 1611 A support for a gown or petticoat used instead of a farthingale. [OED]

ROUND FROCK DV/1984

The Sussex labourer's smock

RUE OED/1980

(OE) 1382 A shrub, much used in medicine. [OED]

RUFF JAS/1988

Originally the frill that edged the standing collar of a shirt. Ruffs increased in size until by the 1570s they had become separate articles. With the use of starch and setting sticks, ruffs could be very wide and consist of many layers. [JA]

RUFFLE OED/1980

1599 The loose turned-over portion of a top-boot. [OED]

1653 To trim with ruffles. [OED]

1707 A strip of lace etc., gathered on one edge and used as an ornamental frill on a garment, especially at the wrist breast or neck. [OED]

RUG OED/1980

1a. 1558 A rough woollen material, a sort of coarse frieze, in common use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. [OED] 1b. 1551 as 'Rugs', a kind of frieze, also a frieze cloak or mantle. [OED]

2. 1591 A large piece of thick woollen stuff (freq. of various colours) used as a coverlet or wrap in travelling. [OED]

RUSSEL OED/1980

1488 A kind of woollen fabric used for articles of attire, especially in sixteenth century. Origin possibly from Flemish name for Lille. [OED]

RUSSET OED/1980

(ME) 1. c.1257 A coarse homespun woollen cloth of a reddish-brown, grey, or neutral colour, often used for the dress of peasants and country folk. Hence; garments of such cloth [OED]

2. 1532 A reddish-brown colour; a shade of this. [OED]

SACKCLOTH OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1373 A coarse textile fabric, usually flax or hemp, used chiefly in the making of bags or sacks and for the wrapping up of bales etc.; sacking, late ME. [OED]

2. c.1000 Also used as the material for mourning or penitential garb; as the coarsest possible clothing, indicative of extreme poverty or humility. [OED]

3. 1595 Also as 'sacking' the material for ladies dresses. [Quotes include 'striped', 'chequer'd' and 'ash color'.] [OED]

SAD COLOURED OED/1980

(late ME) 1412 Dark, deep coloured. Not cheerful-looking, neutral tinted, dull, sober. [OED]

SADDLE-CLOTH OED/1980

1481 A cloth placed on a horses back, beneath the saddle; in early use, a foot cloth, housing cloth. [OED]

SAFEGUARD OED/1980

An outer skirt or petticoat worn by women to protect their dress when riding -1789

SAGATHY OED/1980

1707 A lightweight woollen stuff sometimes made with silk. [OED]

SAILCLOTH OED/1980

1615 Canvas or other textile used for sails. [OED]

SARK OED/1980

(ME) c.1100 A garment worn next to the skin; a shirt or chemise; occasionally a nightshirt. [OED]

SARSENET OED/1980

(late ME) Origin perhaps from 'Saracen cloth'. [OED] 1463 A very fine and soft silk material, later used especially for linings; a dress of this. [OED]

SATIN OED/1980

(late ME) 1369 From Arab/Chinese words. A silk fabric with a glossy surface on one side, produced by a method of weaving by which the threads of the warp are caught and looped by the weft only at certain intervals.

1517 Also applied to other fabrics resembling satin, but made of other materials than silk. [OED] Thus: satin-cloth; a woollen cloth woven like satin, chiefly produced at Roubaix in France. Satin-sheeting, a composite material of waste silk and cotton. [OED]

SATINETTE OED/1980

1703 An imitation of satin woven in silk, or silk and cotton. [OED]

SAY OED/1980

(ME) From woollen blanket, cloak of Gaulish origin.

1297 A cloth of fine texture resembling serge; in the sixteenth century partly of silk, subsequently entirely of wool. [OED]

SCALLOPED EDGE OED/1980

(ME) From shellfish. [OED]

1612 A series of convex rounded projections form a scalloped edge of a garment etc. A scalloped lace band or collar. [OED]

SCARF OED/1980

Also SCARVES:

1. 1555 A broad band of silk or other materials worn (chiefly by soldiers or officials) diagonally across the body or round the waist. [OED]
2. 1562 A broad strip of silk, gauze etc., worn hung loosely over the shoulders or otherwise as an ornamental accessory to the costume. [OED]
3. 1739 The scarf of black crape or silk worn over the shoulder by mourners at a funeral. [OED]

SCOTCH OED/1980

1591 Of things pertaining to Scotland. [OED]

SCREEN FAN OED/1980

1548 A frame covered with paper or cloth, or a disc of thin wood, etc., with a handle by which a person may hold it between his face and the fire. [OED]

SEALING WAX OED/1980

(ME) c.1300 In early use, beeswax or a composition containing this, later a composition of shellac, rosin and turpentine, prepared for the purpose of receiving the impression of seals. [OED]

SEAR OED/1980

(OE) 1530 To burn or char tissue etc. [OED]

CERING CANDLE MOR/1908

Also SEARING, SERINGE:

For waxing thread used for gold embroidery. [MR]  
[1480 OED]

SENDALL MOR/1908

Also SENDALE: A thin stuff like sarsnet but coarser and narrower, made of silk. (fr. Thynne 'Animadversions') [MR] A thin rich silken material; also a covering or garment of this. OED quote dated 1523 [1225 OED] Obscurely derived from Greek SINDON – Fine linen lawn OED, –1606.

SERGE OED/1980

(ME) 1. 1583A woollen fabric; a durable twilled cloth of worsted, or with the warp of worsted and the woof of wool, extensively used for clothing. [OED]  
Garments made of this. [OED]

2. 1608 Silk serge; a silk fabric twilled in the manner of serge, used for linings of coats and formerly for mantles. [OED]

SHADOW JAS/1988

A limp cap of linen, lawn, cypress, network or lace that encircled the upper half of the forehead. [JA]  
[Apparently not in OED on this sense]

SHAGG OED/1980

- (late OE) 1. 1661 The nap (especially long and coarse) of cloth. [OED]  
2. 1592 A cloth having a velvet nap on one side, usually of worsted, but sometimes of silk. Also a kind or variety of this. Often used for warm linings. Hence; Shagged: having a rough or long nap. [OED]  
3. 1634 A garment, rug or mat of shaggy material. [OED]

SHAGREEN OED/1980

1. 1677 A species of untanned leather having a rough granular surface prepared from the skin of a horse, shark seal etc. [OED]  
2. 1702 A silk fabric. Black, white, other colours. [OED]

SHALLOON OED/1980

?1270?

1678 A closely woven woollen material chiefly used for linings. [OED]

SHIFT OED/1980

(ME) 1598 A body garment of linen, cotton or the like; usually a woman's smock or chemise. [OED]

SHIRT OED/1980

(OE) c.1200 An undergarment for the upper part of the body, made of linen, cotton, flannel, silk, or other washable material. Originally a garment for both sexes worn next to the skin, became more frequently applied to men's clothing and often worn over an undershirt. [OED]  
1553 Applied to a loose garment resembling a shirt. [OED]

SHIRTING OED/1980

1604 Material for shirts; specifically, a kind of stout cotton cloth suitable for hard wear. [OED]

SHOT OED/1980

1. 1474 Projectiles designed to be discharged from a firearm by the force of an explosive. [OED]  
2. 1763 Of textile fabric: woven with warp threads of one colour and weft threads of another, so that the fabric changes in tint when viewed from different points. [OED]

SHROUD OED/1980

(OE) 1570 To prepare for burial; the white cloth or sheet in which a corpse is laid out for burial. [OED first ref. for the v. 'shrouding' is c 1300]

SILK OED/1980

(OE) c.1000 Strong soft lustrous fibre produced by bombycine moths; cloth or textile fabric woven or made from this. [OED]

SISTERS THREAD MOR/1908

A kind of thread chiefly fabricated by the nuns of the convents of Flanders and Italy. [MR]

SKY COLOURED OED/1980

1. 1552 The colour of the sky; sky-blue. [OED]

SLASHING JAS/1988

Slits of varying lengths cut into a garment to achieve a decorative pattern. [JA]

SLAY OED/1980

(OE) c.1050 Instrument used in weaving to beat up the weft; a reed. [OED] Hence: Slaying, 1613; The separating and arranging of the counts of warps to the different sets of slay, so as to preserve a uniformity of fabric in similar species of cloth. [OED] Slayer; one who separates the threads and arranges them in a slay. [OED]

SLEAVE OED/1980

1591 A slender filament of silk obtained by separating a thicker thread; silk in the form of such filaments; floss-silk. [OED]  
Thus; Sleeve-silk, 1588; silk thread capable of being separated into smaller filaments for use in embroidery etc. [OED]

SLEASY OED/1980

1. Probable origin: Silesia, as Silesia linen cloth from Silesia in Holland. 1670.  
2. Also, 1645, attributed to mean thin or flimsy in texture; having little substance or body. OED notes the second meaning may not bear any relation to the first. Hence; slight, flimsy, unsubstantial, [OED]

SLEEVES OED/1980

(OE) c.900 That part of a garment that covers the arm. In early use, frequently a separate article of dress that could be worn at will with any body garment. [OED]

SLEEK OED/1980

(ME) 1513 Of surfaces: to make sleek or smooth by rubbing or polishing; to reduce to smoothness. Hence perhaps: sleekstones. [OED]

SMALL CLOTHES OED/1980

1796 Breeches, knee breeches. [OED]

SMALL WARE OED/1980

1617 Small textile articles of the tape kind; narrow bindings of cotton, linen, silk, or woollen fabric; plaited sash cord, braid, etc.; also buttons, hooks & eyes, etc. [OED]

SNUFF OED/1980

1683 Powdered tobacco for inhaling through the nostrils. [OED]

SOAP OED/1980

(OE) c.1000 A substance formed by the combination of certain oils and fats with alkaline bases, used for washing and cleaning purposes. [OED]

SOCK OED/1980

(OE) 1. c.725 A covering for the foot, of the nature of a light shoe, slipper or pump. [OED]  
2. 1327 A short stocking covering the foot and usually reaching to the calf of the leg; half hose, ME. [OED]



SPANGLES JAS/1988  
Also SPANGS: Sequins [JA]

SPANISH CLOAK JAS/1988  
Full short cloak with a hood. [JA]  
[Only in OED as a quote]

SPANISH FARTHINGALE JAS/1988  
Understructure which produced a funnel- or bell-shaped skirt. [JA]

SPECTACLES OED/1980  
(late ME) 1386 A device (singular) for assisting defective eyesight. 1423 as a 'pair of spectacles'. [OED]

STAINED OED/1980  
(late ME) 1. 1382 Damaged or discoloured by streaks of foreign matter not easily removed. [OED]  
2. Ornamented with pictures or designs in colour. [OED]  
3. 1562 To colour (esp. textile fabrics) by the application of liquid pigment that more or less penetrates the substance instead of forming a coating on the surface. [OED]

STAMIN OED/1980  
1225 1. A coarse cloth of worsted; in earliest use usually an undergarment for ascetics.  
2. c.1440. In later use, woollen or worsted cloth for outer garments, curtains etc., for which Norwich was formerly noted. = tamin, tammy.  
2. 1725 Used to render down, i.e. a strainer. [OED]

STARCH OED/1980  
1440 A substance obtained from flour used, in the form of a gummy liquid or paste made with water, to stiffen linen or cotton fabrics, to give a finish to the surface of textile materials etc. [OED]

STARTUPS JAS/1988  
Loose leather shoes reaching above the ankle, sometimes laced or buckled. Worn by country people. [JA]

STAYS OED/1980  
1608 A laced underbodice, stiffened by the insertion of strips of whalebone. = Corset. Hence; 1720 Staylaces; lace or cord to draw together a woman's stays or bodice. [OED] Staytape: 1698 (?tape used by sailors as a support or binding?) and staybraid (?). [OED]

STEEL OED/1980  
(OE) c.1220 A piece of steel shaped for the purpose of striking fire with a flint, ME;  
Alternatively, 1541, A rod of steel, fluted or plain, fitted with a handle, used for sharpening table- or butchers' knives. [OED] ?thus: steelstick?

STOCKING OED/1980

1583 Replaces earlier garment, 'nether-stocks'. [OED]

A close fitting article of clothing covering the foot and the leg, and made of knitted or woven material. Worn by men and women. [OED]

STOCKING FRAME OED/1980

1710 A machine for producing material composed of the looped stitch used in knitting; a knitting machine. [OED]

STOMACHER OED/1980

1. 1450 A kind of waistcoat worn by men.

2. 1535 An ornamental covering for the chest, inverted triangle shaped. Made of stiffened material, sometimes jewelled, decorated or embroidered, they were worn by women under the lacing of the bodice. [OED]

STOOL BALL OED/1980

1690 An old country game, somewhat resembling cricket, the stool was the wicket. Balls used in this game. [OED]

STRONG WATERS OED/1980

1580 Alcoholic spirits used as a beverage. [OED]

STROUD OED/1980

1. 1683 A blanket manufactured for barter or sale in trading with N. American Indians. [OED]

2. 1759 The material of which these blankets were made. [OED]

STUFF OED/1980

(late ME) 1. 1462 Woven material of any kind for making garments.

2. 1604 In particularised sense: a kind of stuff; a textile fabric.

3. 1643 Specifically, a woollen fabric. [OED]

SURCOAT JAS/1988

Loose, usually sleeveless overgarment. [JA]

SUSI DV/

Susi. Otherwise Soosey, Soosy, or Soocey; a striped mixed fabric of silk and cotton

SWADDLE BANDS OED/

(thirteenth century). 1535 Swaddling bands, for binding an infant to prevent free movement. [OED]

SWEET OIL OED/1980

(ME) 1585 Any oil of pleasant or mild taste, specifically olive oil. [OED]

TABBY OED/1980

Arab origins, named after quarter of Bagdad in which the stuff was manufactured. [OED]

1. 1636 A general term for silk taffeta, apparently originally striped, but afterwards applied also to silks of uniform colour waved or watered. [OED] Hence; to tabby:

to give wavy appearance (to silk etc) by calendaring to stripe or streak in parallel lines with darker markings. [OED]

2. 1727 Tabby gown, tabby dress. [OED]

**TABLING** OED/1980

(late ME) 1600 Material for tablecloths; table linen. [OED]

**TAFFETA** OED/1980

**TAFFETY** (late ME) 1373 A name applied at different times to different fabrics. More recent times, 1515, a light thin silk or union stuff of decided brightness or lustre. Misapplied to various mixtures of silk and wool, and even cotton and jute, thin fine woollen material etc.

Figurative uses include 1588 Florid, bombastic; overdressed; dainty, delicate, fastidious. [OED]

**TAMMY** OED/1980

Unknown origin. 1. 1665 A fine worsted cloth of good quality, often with a glazed finish. [OED]

2. 1769 A strainer. [OED]

**TAPE** OED/1980

(late ME) 1. c.1000 A narrow, woven strip of stout linen, cotton, silk, etc., used as a string for tying garments, as binding, as measuring lines etc. [OED]

1b. 1537 without article as the name of the material. [OED]

**TAR** OED/1980

(OE) c.725 Thick viscid, black inflammable liquid, used for coating and preserving timber etc. [OED]

**TARTAN** OED/1980

1500 A kind of woollen cloth woven in stripes of various colours crossing at right angles so as to form a regular pattern. Originally Scots. [OED]

**TAWNY** OED/1980

(thirteenth century). 1. 1377 Name of a colour consisting of brown with a preponderance of yellow or orange. [OED]

2. 1416 Cloth of a tawny colour. [OED]

**THICK SET** OED/1980

1756 A stout cotton cloth with a short very close nap; a kind of fustian; also a garment of this material. [OED]

**THIMBLE** OED/1980

(ME) 1412 Bell shaped sheath of metal (formerly of leather) worn on the end of a finger to push the needle when sewing, late ME. [OED]

**THREAD** OED/1980

(OE) 1. c.725 A fine cord composed of the fibres or filaments of flax, cotton, wool, silk, etc., spun to a considerable length; specifically, such a cord composed of two or more yarns, especially of flax, twisted together. [OED]

2. c.1200 Each of the lengths of a yarn which form the warp and weft of a woven fabric. [OED]
3. 1386 Without 'a' the name of the substance of which the above mentioned things are composed, or of these things taken in the mass; often with a distinctive word as 'gold' or 'silk'. late ME. [OED]

#### THREE PILE OED/1980

1607 Applied to velvet in which the loops of the pile-warp, which constitutes the nap, are formed by three threads, producing a pile of treble thickness. [OED]

#### THREE QUARTER CLOTH OED/1980

1708 Measuring or relating to three quarters (of a yard) in Cloth Measure, or three fourths of any quantity indicated by context. [OED]

#### THRUM OED/1980

(OE) 1. 1429 In weaving, each of the ends of the warp threads left unwoven and remaining attached to the loom when the web is cut off; in plural, the row or fringe of such threads. late ME. [OED]

2. 1346 A short piece of waste thread or yarn (including the unwoven ends of the warp); odds and ends of thread; also, a tuft, tassel or fringe of threads at the edge of a piece of cloth. ME Thrum-cap: a cap made of thrums. [OED] Thus; to thrum, 1525: to furnish or adorn with thrums or ends of thread (or similar); to cover with thrums or small tufts, raise a pile upon (cloth); to make shaggy. [OED]

#### TICK OED/1980

1466 The case or cover containing feathers, flocks or the like, forming a mattress or pillow; also applied to the strong hard linen or cotton material for making such cases. [OED]

#### TIFFANY OED/1980

English 1. 1601 A kind of thin transparent silk; also, a transparent gauze, muslin, cobweb lawn, 1601. [OED] 2. 1606 An article made of tiffany, as a headdress, a sieve, etc. [OED]

3. 1608 Used figuratively for transparent, flimsy. [OED]

#### TINSEL OED/1980

1. 1502 Of satin, etc., made to sparkle or glitter by the interweaving of gold or silver thread, by brocading with such thread, or by overlaying with a thin coating of gold or silver. [OED]

2. 1526 A kind of cloth or tissue; tinselled cloth; a rich material of silk or wool interwoven with gold or silver thread; occasionally a thin net or gauze thus made; later a cheap imitation of this. [OED]

3. 1593 Very thin plates or sheets, spangles, strips, or threads, originally of gold or silver, later of copper, brass, etc., used chiefly for ornament; later esp. for cheap and showy ornamentation, gaudy stage costumes, and the like. [OED] Hence perhaps; tinsey?

#### TIPPET OED/1980

(ME) 1. c.1300 A long narrow strip of cloth or hanging part of dress, either attached to and forming part of the hood, head-dress or sleeve, or loose as a scarf or the like. [OED]

2. 1481 A garment, usually of fur or wool, covering the shoulders, or neck and shoulders; a cape or a short cloak. [OED]

TOYS OED/1980

1. 1500 A small article of little value; a knick-knack, trinket etc. [OED]
2. 1586 A plaything for children or others also, something contrived for amusement rather than for practical use. [OED]

TREACLE OED/1980

(ME) 1340 A medicinal compound, used as an antidote to venomous bites, poisons and diseases. [OED]

2. 1694 Uncrystallized syrup produced in the process of refining sugar. [OED]

TRUNKHOSE JAS/1988

A style of hose that swelled out from the waistband to turn directly on to the thighs. [JA]

TUFF TAFFETA JAS/1988

A kind of taffeta with a pile or nap arranged in tufts. [JA]

TUKES MOR/1908

A kind of buckram. [MR]

UNDERPROPPER JAS/1988

Wire frame attached to the collar that supported the ruff pinned onto it. [JA]

VANDELAS DRD/1886

Vittry canvas [DD]

VELVET JAS/1988

A warp pile fabric, usually woven of silk but sometimes with a ground of worsted and with the pile cut to give the essential pile appearance. Could be either plain or figured. Figured velvet was woven in two colours with two and sometimes three piles. Wrought velvet was velvet with an embroidered pattern. [JA]

VENETIANS JAS/1988

Full breeches closed at the knee. They could be either voluminous throughout or close-fitting. [JA]

WAISTCOAT JAS/1988

Informal jacket-style garment worn by men and women. [JA]

WATCHETT OED/1980

1. 1198 Generally defined as a light blue colour, but also
2. 1613, used to denote green. [OED]

WEEKE YARN OED/1980

1498 Wick yarn. [OED]

WARP OED/1980

c. 725 The threads that run lengthwise in the loom, usually twisted harder than the woof or weft, with which these threads are crossed to make the web or piece. [OED]

WEFT OED/1980

c.725 The threads that run across the cloth, at right angles to the warp. [OED]

WOOLLEN OED/1980

c.1046 Strictly speaking, cloth made from yarn that has been carded, not combed. Such differentiation may not have been clearly made until the Early Modern period. [OED]

WORSTED OED/1980

1293 Now used to define that type of cloth made from yarn spun on the worsted as opposed to the woollen principle. It is not clear when the distinction with woollen was first clearly made. [OED]

## Appendix 1

### Dress Before the Early Modern Period

To see how the availability of haberdashery related to changes in consumption, and to attempt an understanding of the relationship between social status and clothing – the vehicle for the display and use of haberdashery - it will be helpful to examine the way that association stood at the beginning of the period. In order to understand how the situation had become established, it is necessary to look even further back. For example the fourteenth century book *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, 1346, and such works as the previously mentioned letters of a father to his daughter Geoffroy de la Tour Landry, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour- Landry*, 1361, are effective in establishing the elements of clothing which were being criticised in current writings, and so by default indicating what styles were accepted by the establishment, the mechanism of challenge, and the status of the challengers.<sup>889</sup> Statutes of the realm, such as that of 11 Edward III cap. 1337, limiting the wearing of fur to those with an income of ‘100 livres’ a year, obviously are more relevant to the aristocracy and the rich. However, the sumptuary laws that were intended to restrain excess in apparel were also applicable much further down the social scale, and it is in part because of the nation-wide acceptance, and the co-operation or contravention of the laws, that clothing is a particularly important source for examining social change.<sup>890</sup>

The beginning of the fourteenth century was a time of considerable change in Europe, and the early 1340s saw alterations in the mode of European dress that were to act as the springboard for long term stylistic change. There were technical improvements, both in the equipment - scissors, pins, needles - and in the understanding of methods required so that flat pieces of fabric could be shaped into something created to *fit* a body, rather than merely cover a mass.

---

<sup>889</sup> Tait, J., (editor), *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis, 1346-1367*, (Manchester: 1914). Tour-Landry, Geoffroy de la, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour- Landry, 1361*, in Wright, Thomas, (tr.), (London: 1868).

<sup>890</sup> For a discussion of sumptuary legislation see: Benhamou, Reed, ‘The Restraint of Excessive Apparel: England 1337-1604’ in *Dress*, Vol.15. (1989), pp. 27-37; Harte, N.B., ‘State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England,’ in Coleman, D.C. and A.H. John, (eds), *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*, (London: 1976). Also Sutton, Anne F., ‘Order and Fashion in Clothes: The King, His Household, and the City of London at the End of the Fifteenth Century’ in *Textile History*, 22 (2), (1991), pp.253-276.

It is not possible to credit one place with the origins of the innovations; it may be an example of simultaneous development in several locations since, at about the same time, frescos and panel paintings, sculptures and manuscript illuminations throughout Europe depicted similar, though not identical, clothing features, such as the setting-in and tightness of sleeves, the closer fit of tunics to the upper part of the body, and the general drape and hang rather than bundle of clothing. It would be no exaggeration to claim that no other stylistic changes at any time have had such far-reaching effects.

Twelfth-century manuscripts such as the St. Swithin's and Shaftesbury Psalters indicate that quantity and quality of fabric was the distinguishing factor between master and servant, and initially indications of wealth, gender and 'personality' had to be carried by the quality and decoration of clothing. On the evidence of illuminated calendars of the months, up to about the thirteenth century clothing was pretty much the same shape for both sexes, being a loose T shaped tunic, differing from each other mainly in length and neckline. A girdle supplied minimal shaping, but garments could not be said to be fitted items. Sleeves were cut in the width of the fabric of the upper part of the garment, and were extended by the addition of fabric tubes at a point falling between shoulder and elbow.<sup>891</sup> Around 1330 the technique was beginning to develop for setting the sleeve into an armhole cut high to correspond with the natural jointing of arm and shoulder. This new development allowed for the unprecedented construction of a tightly fitting garment above the waist, and for narrow sleeves, which formerly could only be achieved by lacing or by wrapping the superfluous fabric round the lower arm and sewing it together each time the garment was put on. This was noted in the French romance *Roman de la Rose*<sup>892</sup> where the actor is seen to stroll out into the fields in the early morning sewing up his sleeves. Similarly in Chaucer's version, *Romaunt of the Rose* written in the late 1300s, line 104 notes "With a threde bastyng my slevis.." and again, line 570 "..Hir sleeves sewid fetously." <sup>893</sup>

It is to be noted that the older generations found much of which to disapprove in the new style. Himself inured to the daily wearing of several yards of fabric, Giovanni Villani blamed

---

<sup>891</sup> Newton, Stella Mary (1980), *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A study of the years 1340-1365*, (Woodbridge: 1980).

<sup>892</sup> De Lorris, Guillaume, and De Meun, Jean, *Roman de la Rose*, 1.91, (c.1230).

<sup>893</sup> Chaucer, Geoffrey, *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 104, (c.1386).



the Frenchman Walter de Brienne II, titular Duke of Athens, for the introduction of the new fashions, and claimed in 1342 that the young men now wore tunics so short and tight that they had to be helped to dress. They were, he complained, decorated with buckles and points, hung about with pouches, wearing hoods and mantles cut into patterns round the edge while the hoods' liripipes reached the ground, also that the young women were adopting the most ridiculous hanging sleeve pieces.<sup>894</sup> However, similar styles had been recorded in Milan two years earlier and commentators then had variously attributed the short tight fashions to the Spanish, the haircut to the French, the new attitudes and manners to the Germans, and use of language to the Tartars. French writers, perhaps confirming the truth of the other countries' accusations, did not credit the innovations to any other nationality, but French critics like the author of the 'Grandes Chroniques de France' also complained bitterly about the new clothes, particularly those worn by the young men.<sup>895</sup>

John of Reading, writing in England probably between 1366 and 1369 claimed that the English had been foolishly following foreign fashions since the arrival of Phillipa of Hainault. Describing the decent, long and ample fashions of the old days, John condemned the 1344 fashions as "short, narrow, hampering, cut all about, laced up in every part and altogether changed."<sup>896</sup> English illustrated manuscripts, the *Taymouth Hours* of c.1330, and the *Decretals of Gregory the Great*, c.1340, depict fashionably dressed young women indulging in various sporting activities including hunting and hawking.<sup>897</sup> Henry Knighton, an Austin canon from the house at Leicester, commented in 1347 upon what could be viewed as a 'feminist movement', evidence of which also appears in *The Brut*, an early fifteenth century chronicle of England, which complained about the clothing and attitudes of young women.

Wealthy young people – their youth was stressed by all these critics - adopted the new body-fitting, form-revealing clothes. Even though they had to be helped to dress because they could not reach their fastenings, and even if the tightness of the clothes made for a more upright carriage, they were no longer hampered by bulk of fabric, while the cut-to-shape pieces of their clothing demonstrated a more extravagant use of cloth which, as Newton notes, would in later years be termed 'conspicuous waste' by Thorsten Veblen.<sup>898</sup> The evidence of illustrations and written commentary indicates that this deliberate use of clothing as a distinguishing factor between one group, or rank, and another was already well established,

---

<sup>894</sup> *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, Florence, vii, Lib.12, (1823), p.16.

<sup>895</sup> Newton, S.M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, (1980), p.10.

<sup>896</sup> Tait, J., (ed.), *Chronica Johannis*, (1914).

<sup>897</sup> BL MS Yates Thompson 13, and BL MS Roy 10 E IV.

<sup>898</sup> Newton, S.M., *ibid*, p.3.

but the clothing innovations of the fourteenth century, which, perhaps for the first time, favoured the young could well have been seen by the older generations as a potent threat to the *status quo*. At the same time the merchant group, particularly in Italy, was moving into a different relationship with the nobility. They now had the financial power to purchase the qualities of education and taste that the aristocracy inherited, and because they flattered rather than challenged their superiors through imitation, their new money was accepted as their passport to higher society. Such a group, with the attitudes engendered by commerce and the need to demonstrate success in order to be yet more successful, would be quick to adopt new styles, and new fabrics, reinforcing the importance of clothing in the hierarchy of display and social standing.

There is only a narrow boundary between the development of a new, acceptable, style and the breaking of contemporary rules of clothing. Much depends on the status level at which the new fashion is introduced. In Lemire's phrase: 'novel articles, when worn by plebeians, challenged entrenched norms in personal presentation.'<sup>899</sup> This is a two-way practice - the group is identified by its clothing, and the clothes express the ethos of the group. The reputation and the image having become synonymous, the clothing itself carries the identity and the meaning.

Military uniform, household or trade livery can be seen intentionally exploiting this phenomenon - the clothing identifies the wearer with his principal, and reciprocally gives the principal's authority to the wearer. To be admitted into a trade guild was frequently termed 'having the clothing.'<sup>900</sup> This mutually supportive interplay of loyalties is what writers attacking sartorial anarchy saw as being at risk. For example Stubbes wrote:

it is very hard to knowe, who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not; for you will have those, which are neither of the nobylitie gentilitie nor yeomanry, go daylie in silkes, veluets, satens, damasks, taffeties and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, mean by estate, and servile by calling.<sup>901</sup>

Stubbes appears to believe that there once was a time when clothes worked by placing subjects recognisably, although each era has its share of 'grumpy old men' complaining about the inappropriate clothing of, usually young, upstarts. Stubbes,

---

<sup>899</sup> Lemire, B., 'Second-hand beaux and "red-armed Belles": conflict and the creation of fashions in England, c.1660-1800', in *Community and Change*, 15/3, (2000), pp.391-417.

<sup>900</sup> Herbert, W., *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, (London: 1837), p.60.

<sup>901</sup> Quoted in Jones, A.R., and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: 2000), p.5.

and the eighteenth century commentators on clothing such as the Defoe and Kalm, recognise that clothes are detachable, and that as they are moved from body to body, whether by gift, purchase or theft, they take with them identity, ritual and social memory, even as they confuse social categories.

The use of clothing for collective identity was a method employed from the outset by many religious groups and the early monastic orders differentiated themselves through their brown, grey, white and black robes. Why did each religious order choose its particular habit colour? The answer would seem to lie, at least in part, in the interpretation of the symbolic meanings of colours. The importance of colour as an element of communication in the Early Modern period was far more extensive, and used to much greater effect than the twentieth century can easily understand. Again, although we retain belief in the suitability for the use of certain colours on specific, usually formal occasions such as funerals or weddings, on the whole we do not have the training or the oral tradition to inform us of appropriate colour combination for other events or statements. Although, then as now, colours in favour changed from season to season, strongly influenced for reasons of aesthetics or novelty by the monarch and court, many colours carried symbolic meanings. Sources of such symbolism trace back to early civilisations- the linking of red with blood and therefore power, the green of spring with youth and hopefulness, of brown with autumn and sorrow.

In the medieval period heraldry was a powerful source of colour symbolism. As the European courts changed and aristocratic families enlarged, a vested interest in heraldry gave rise to treatises on blazonry, which themselves gradually expanded their range to cover all colours not only those in use on arms. Many books were published in Italy on the subject of colours, their uses, and meanings, the number of publications indicative of the importance attached to the subject. The best known, *Del significato de' colori* of Fulvio Pellegrino Morato, was published first in 1535 and nine more times before the end of the century. The first English publication, which was by Gerard Legh in 1562, identified the symbolism of the 7 colours used in the blazoning of arms and of their meanings when used in combination. While these meanings applied particularly to arms, the colour associations were adapted to suit painting and clothing.

Chaucer was among the first English writers to use colour symbolism freely, but in the works of subsequent poets and playwrights numerous colour references can be seen, providing sub-texts of which today we are often unaware. Shakespeare, Middleton, Jonson, Spencer - all used, and explained, colours in ways that would be easily understood by an audience already

attuned to such references. For example, in Malvolio's 'Yellow stockings and cross gartering', yellow stockings had three meanings; love, marriage, or jealousy-after-marriage. Malvolio wears the yellow for love, but verbally he combines yellow with black: "not black in my mind, though yellow in my legs" he says, meaning that though he is a lover with his yellow stockings, he is not a melancholic one.<sup>902</sup> But 'Black and Yellow' was the title of a well-known Elizabethan composition to which at least two melancholic songs were sung.<sup>903</sup> The colours themselves were also used together, for mourning or grief, as an alternative to the other sorrowful combination of black and tawny.

The wearing of this sort of colour combination as a deliberate act to communicate or confirm a state of mind was not merely a stage device. An example can be seen in the Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford writing of her troubled marriage and a family death, 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1616: "...all this time since my Lord went away, I wore my black taffety nightgown with a yellow taffety waistcoat." A 'nightgown', not to be confused with a bedgown, was a casual robe worn informally indoors. Lady Anne chose to wear colours that felt appropriate in a time of sorrow, and noting the clothes in her private diary was an expressive way of recording her emotions. More expressive perhaps than trying to write directly about her feelings: both the wearing of the colours in private, and the fact of recording that wearing indicate the particular significance she attributed to the occasion.<sup>904</sup>

There was a further sub-text employing colour that would also be obvious to contemporaries. We are quite used to colourfast chemical dyes in most shades or tones, but natural dyes were far less reliable. A really strong black dye, for example, was well known to be difficult and costly to produce, while the use of the very expensive 'in grain' scarlet dye, made from the Kermes beetle, would be obvious from the strength and quality of the colour. Descriptions of the gowns of the London livery companies, for example, record them being of brilliant colours, sometimes parti-coloured, demonstrating the wealth and importance of their members. Sumptuary legislation of the fifteenth century curbed such splendour to some extent and John Stow laments in 1589 'but now of late time they haue vsed their gowns to be al of one colour and those of the sadest.'<sup>905</sup>

---

<sup>902</sup> Shakespeare, William, *Twelfth Night*, Act 3, Scene IV.

<sup>903</sup> Lothian, J.M. and T.W.Craik, (eds), *William Shakespeare: Twelfth Night*, (London: 1975), pp.93-94.

<sup>904</sup> Clifford, D.J.H. (editor), *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, (Stroud: 1990), p.41.

<sup>905</sup> Stow, J., *A Survey of London. Reprinted from the text of 1603*, (Oxford: 1908), p.195, quoted in 'Men of Trades and Sellers of Wares,' Marschner, J., *Costume*, vol.18, (1984), p.29.

In 1340 Thomas Aquinas concluded ‘while there was nothing intrinsically wrong with fine clothing, deliberately to seek admiration through excessive attention to dress, to spend too much thought on it or to derive undue sensuous bodily pleasure from wearing it, were grievous faults’. He acknowledged that ‘to court admiration by wearing affectedly coarse or humble clothing was equally reprehensible’, and that women should dress themselves ‘in styles suitable to their station in life [and] in accordance with the general custom’<sup>906</sup>

---

<sup>906</sup> *Summa Theologica*, trans. by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, Pt. II, second part ‘Of Modesty in Outward Apparel’, clxix, (London: 1918), pp.304 ff. quoted in Newton, S.M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince*, p.12.

## Appendix 2

### Classification of Buttons from Inventories

GARMENT	DESCRIPTION	MATERIAL	COMBINATION	QUERIES
Breast	Best	Alkeme	Breast thread	Stool work [?]
Breech	Black	Berry	Coat thread	Tipt [?]
Cassock	Black bt'	Bow	Hair coat	Sharl [shawl/shell?]
Coat	Blue basket breast	Braid silk	Little flat	Bagg?
Codpiece	Britannia breast	Brass	Small white	
Cuff	Coloured	Copper	White thread	
Handkerchief	Crown coat	Double scotch	Silk waistcoat	
Neck	Double sp'	Flat wire		
Shirt	Flat	Frosted [frosted?]		
Sleeve	Ginie [guinea]	Gimp		
Vest	Large	Glass		
Waistband	Link	Gold		
Waistcoat	Little	Hair		
	Long	Horn		
	Loose	Inlaid horn		
	Odd	Lead		
	Old	Leather		
	Old braid	Metal		
	Old fashion	Mohair		
	Old silk	Pewter		
	Quality	Scotts		
	Red	Silk		
	Royal oak cloak	Silk & copper		
	Scarlet	Silk & gimp		
	Small	Silk & gold		
	White	Silk & silver		
		Silver		
		Silver & gold scotch		
		Snaile		
		Steel		
		Stitched		
		Stone		
		Thread		
		Tin		
		White thread		
		White thread scotch		

### Appendix 3

Mary Medhurst, St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire.  
Shop goods 1762 –1764<sup>907</sup>

Commodities	Price per item	Legend
Bays	1s.01d	
Binding	~0s.½d *0.¾d 1d 2d	~Manchester *Cotton
Blue	1s.02d	
Body lining	1s.02d	
Calamanco	1s.00d	
Camlet	1s.01d	
Check	1s.00d 1s.02d 1s.04d 1s.06d	
Chince cotton	3s.00d	
Coating	2s.06d	
Dowlas	1s.01d *1s.02d 1s.2½d 1s.03d 1s.04d 1s.06d	*Ruff
Handkerchief	~1s.01d 1s.03d 1s.05d 1s.06d 2s.00d *2s.01d 2s.02d #2s.08d 2s.10d	~Scots *Blue & white #Sney?
Hefens [?]	1s.00d	
Irish	1s.01d 1s.03d 1s.04d 1s.05d 1s.07d 1s.08d 1s.10d 1s.11d 2s.00d	
Lace	8d	
Lawn	1s.00d 2s.06d 2s.08d 3s.06d 5s.00d	
Lincy	*1s.00d *1s.04d ~1s.04d ~1s.04d	*Black ~Striped ~Blue
Nonsopretty	1d	
Printed linen	#2s.02d 2s.04d 2s.04d 2s.04d	
Quality binding	2d 1d	
Ribbon	6d	
Stuff	1s.01d 1s.06d	
Tape	1d 2d	
Thread	1d	
Worsted thread	1d	
Yardwide	1s.00d ~1s.00d	~Black
Clothing:		
Hose	1s.10d 2s.00d 2s.02d 2s.04d 2s.06d *2s.06d 2s.10d 3s.03d ~3s.06	*White ~Black
Cardinal	14s.06d	
Mitts	10d ~1s.02d	~Yellow
Breeches	19s.00d	

<sup>907</sup> HRO: 96M82 PZ 25

## Appendix 4

### Traders in the Sample

232 WITH TRADE NAMED : 82 TRADE NOT NAMED

	Lancs	Cumbria Wst'land	Hants	Leics	W. Mids Staf/Wks		Sussex	London	Totals
Alderman						01			01
Barber surgeon								01	01
Blacksmith								01	01
Bodice maker						01	01		02
Button maker						01			01
Chandler				01	01	01			03
Chapman	06	03	01	01	02	01	01		15
Citizen			01						01
Clothing								01	01
Clothworker								01	01
Cutler								02	02
Draper		01	02			02		05	10
Dyer								01	01
Feltmonger							01		01
Fishmonger								01	01
Gent	04	03	02						09
Girdler								02	02
Glover							01		01
Goldsmith								03	03
Grocer	02	01	03				02	03	11
Haberdasher	02	01	10			02		24	39
Hosier	01								01
Ironmonger						01	01	01	03
Lacemaker			01						01
Leather seller								01	01
Linen draper	01		01		01				03
Mercer	08	02	12	04	05	17	11	04	63
Merchant		05	01						06
Merchant tailor			01					03	04
Narrow weaver						01			01
Petty Chapman	01	01		01					03
Pewterer								03	03
Pointmaker	01								01
Salesman							01		01
Shoemaker						01			01
Shop goods				01					01
Shopkeeper							02		02
Silk man	01								01
Silk weaver	01				01	03			05
Skinner								01	01
Stocking seller			01						01
Tailor					01	01	01		03
Tallow chandler							02		02
Vintner								01	01
Ware shop			01						01
Weaver	01								01
Widow		01	02	01		03	02		09
Woollen draper			03						03
Yeoman		02							02
Untitled	14	11	21	05	06	16	06	03	82
	43	31	63	14	17	52	32	62	314



## Appendix 5

### Accounts of Miss Grainger, Tuckfield, Sussex. 1778-1787

1 Entry in diary	2-4 Entries in diary	Recorded in assoc. with	5-10 Entries in diary	Recorded in assoc. with	11+ Entries in diary	Recorded in assoc. with
1x Binding	3x Aprons	striped	5x Cotton		23x Gauze	ribbon
1x Buckle		muslin	5x Edging			Scotch
1x Button	2x Baize		9x Handk'f	Silk piece		black Scot
1x Cambric	2x Calico	wrapper		muslin		club
1x Clogs	2x Crape	white		Barcelona		blond
1x Ferret		gauze		coloured		crape
1x Mercer		blond		worked		gloves
1x Sufloy?	2x Dimity	gloves		cambric		pins
1x Twist	2x Flannel	Bath	5x Ruffles	worked		edging
1x Weym'th chintz	4x Haberdashers bill			gratuity		handkerchief
	4x Hair cushion		8x Silk	sewing	19x Gloves	beaver
1x Worsted	4x Hat	pins		black sewing		tan
1x Wrapper		straw		white		knife
		ribbon		hair cushion		lawn
	2x Lining		6x Stays	advance	12x Gown	petticoat
	2x Linen	check		mending		linen
		drapers bill		bill		Morea
	2x Lustring		5x Stockings	coloured		striped
	4x Mantua	makers bill	5x Tape	thread		stuff
		Oxford	10x Irish	fine		making
	2x Milliner	bill		coarse		callendering
	3x Mode	black		cloth	11x Lace	black
		blacklace		linen		sundries
	2x Net	gauze	10x Muslin	British		gifts to
		French		checked	13x Pins	black
	2x Paper	pins		striped		powder
	2x Satin	dove		Manchester		scissors
		coloured				gauze
		white				tapes
	2x Slippers	black				pomatum
	3x Thread	tape				
	4x Wire	paper			36x Ribb'n	black
		skein				coloured
						silk
						tape
						gifts to
						clogs
						gauze

## Appendix 6

Example from database of a Handbill used as an invoice on the reverse

From Attingham Papers, Shropshire Record and Research. (112/6/Box 35/81s)

WATERHOUSE Thomas of London, Haberdasher, n.d.

/Illustrated handbill. Small illustration top left in oblong frame: on left, hand holding bird, with coat cuff and shirt sleeve gathered in to narrow band: on right, two birds in a tree/

/Illustration/

Thos' Waterhouse

HABERDASHER

At the Bird in Hand betwixt Norfolk &

Surry Streets in the Strand

London

Sells all sorts of

Ribbons, ferrits, galloons, Braids, fine

Diaper, & plain tapes, Incles & Filleting

Silk and worsted Bindings, Silk & Cotton=

Laces, Sowing & Sticking Silk, Shades=

of Silks, & Shades of Worsteds, fine Threads,

Needls, Pins, Garters, Cards w'th all other

Haberdashery Goods, &c'r. NB best

Raw Silk, Cawls & Wigg Ribbon

Also

Twist, Buckrams, Canvis, tape, Hair=

Cloths, and Wadding, Dimothy, Glaz'd linens,

Fine Flannel, and the best Silk & Thread

At Reasonable Rates

/on reverse. Money entry standardised /

Bot' of Thos' Waterhouse

1743 May 2

4 dz Collrd Silk	00 07 00
4 ps French tape	00 02 00
3 ps Do. Broader	00 01 09
1 ps Do. Do.	00 00 08
1 ps Do. Do.	00 00 09
1 ps fine bobing	00 00 06
3 yrs Ribbon	00 01 06
3000 needls Best	00 02 06
2 p Filliting	00 03 04

---

01 00 00

Rec'd the full contents Thos' Waterhouse

## *Appendix 7*

### Lists and References

#### Diaries

Lindfield	1648	Family	Chichester
Farmer	1686	Farmer	Chichester
Sneyd	1719	Draper	Stafford
Southcomb	1724	Mercer	Devon
Dodson	1724	Lady	London
Lee	1733	Business	London
Knowsley	1750		Devon
Dent	1754	Shopkeeper	Westmorland
Turner	1754	Shopkeeper	Sussex
Medhurst	1762	Draper	Hampshire
Nollis	1768	Gentleman	Hampshire
Norie	1768	Tailor	London
Cross	1778	Artist	London
Grainger	1778	Lady	Sussex
Miller	1783	Miller	Sussex
Murray	1785	Lady	London

#### Wills

LRO WCW 1612 Ralph Barnston	BARNSTON Ralph of Ormskirk	Lancashire	1612 Chapman
LRO WCW 1621 Edward Meaes	MAYES Edward	Manchester	1621
LJRO 1676 Barnard	BARNARD Susanna, of Coventry	Warwickshire	1676 Widow
CRO 1729 Cleasby	CLEASBY Agnes, of Ravenstondale	Westmorland	1729
LRO Carlisle: 1741 Boys	BOYS Robert of Longtown	Cumberland	1741 Yeoman
LRO Carlisle: 1746 Bowness	BOWNESS, Ann, of Coulby	Westmorland	1746
LRO Carlisle: 1739/40 Davis	DAVIS Jane, of Winder Hale	Westmorland	1739

## Constructed Databases

Grainger Diary

Glossary

Images

Lindfield Diary

Newspapers

Picture Reference

Trade cards

Traders

Wares

## Newspapers

*Aris's Birmingham Gazette*

*Reading Mercury*

*Manchester Mercury*

*Williamsons Liverpool Advertiser*

*London Chronicle*

*Owens Weekly*

*Salopian Journal*

*Piercy's Coventry Gazette*

*Leicester Journal*

*Leicester and Nottingham Journal*

## Appendix 8

### Traders Inventories

#### Cumbria

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
CRO 1609 Langhorn	LANGHORN Thomas	1609	Cumberland	
CRO 1657 Dover	DOVER Simon	1657	Cumberland	
CRO 1658 Bland	BLAND Anthony	1658	Cumberland	
CRO 1662 Halton	HALTON James	1662	Cumberland	
CRO 1670 Hall	HALL Anne	1670	Cumberland	
CRO 1670 Nelson	NELSON William	1670	Cumberland	Grocer
CRO 1674 Allison	ALLISON John	1674	Cumberland	Chapman
CRO 1682 Braithwaite	BRAITHWAITE Jonathan	1682	Cumberland	
CRO 1684 Monk	MONKE Richard	1684	Cumberland	Mercer
CRO 1684 Carter	CARTER Joseph	1684	Cumberland	
CRO 1684 Harrison	HARRISON John	1684	Cumberland	Merchant
CRO 1687 Norman	NORMAN Peter	1687	Cumberland	Merchant
CRO 1692 Heath	HEATH Richard	1692	Cumberland	Haberdasher
CRO 1695 Poull	POULL George	1695	Cumberland	
CRO 1695 Raw	RAW Henry	1695	Westmorland	Mercer
CRO 1711 Phillipson	PHILLIPSON Christopher	1711	Cumberland	
CRO 1718 Procter	PROCTER Leonard	1718	Cumberland	
CRO 1720 Wharton	WHARTON Thomas	1720	Westmorland	Mercer
CRO 1720 Bell	BELL George	1720	Cumberland	Merchant
CRO 1722 Mackelay	MACKELAY Benjamin	1722	Cumbria	
CRO 1724 Poole	POOLE Herbert	1724	Cumberland	
LRO WCW 1724 Noble	NOBLE George	1724	Westmorland	
CRO 1726 Haddock	HADDOCK James	1726	Cumberland	
CRO 1726 Blacklock	BLACKLOCK William	1726	Cumberland	
CRO 1727 Crackenthorpe	CRACKENTHORPE Mottram	1727	Cumberland	Gent
LRO WCW 1728 Scott	SCOTT William	1728	Cumberland	Mercer
CRO 1729 Cleasby	CLEASBY Agnes	1729	Westmorland	
LRO WCW 1730 Burrell	BURRELL John	1730	Cumberland	
CRO 1734 Unthank	UNTHANK John	1734	Westmorland	Merchant
CRO 1738 Burges	BURGES James	1738	Cumberland	Chapman
CRO 1738 Steward	STEWARD Daniel	1738	Cumberland	Petty Chapman
CRO 1739/40 Davis	DAVIS Jane Winder	1739	Westmorland	
CRO 1741 Boys	BOYS Robert	1741	Cumberland	Yeoman clothes
CRO 1741 Sanderson	SANDERSON Philip	1741	Cumberland	Chapman
CRO 1742 Allen	ALLEN James	1742	Cumberland	Yeoman
CRO 1746 Bowness	BOWNESS Ann	1746	Westmorland	

## Lancashire

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
LRO WCW 1558/9 George Byrom	BYROM George	1559		
LRO WCW 1588 John Alred	ALRED John of Salford	1588	Salford	
LRO WCW 1590 Wm Awen	AWEN William	1590	Manchester	
LRO WCW 1612 Ralph Barnston	BARNSTON Ralph	1612	Ormskirk	Chapman
LRO WCW 1613 Roger Sankey	SANKEY Roger	1613	Ormskirk	Gentleman
LRO WCW 1620 William Mosier	MOSIER William	1620	Manchester	Silkman
LRO WCW 1621 Edward Meaes	MAYES Edward	1621	Manchester	
LRO WCW 1622 Thomas Stanynought	STANYNOUGHT Thomas	1622	Ormskirk	Haberdasher
LRO WCW 1623 John Moxon	MOXON John	1623	Manchester	Hosier
LRO WCW 1623 Thomas Collumbell	COLUMBELL Thomas	1623	Manchester	
LRO WCW 1623 John Pares	PARES John	1623	Rochdale	Batchelor
LRO WCW 1628 John Heywood	HEYWOOD John	1627	Little Leaver	Chapman
LRO WCW 1628 John Ashton	ASHTON John	1628	Ashton under Lyne	Mercer
LRO WCW 1629 Hugh Meanley	MEANLEY Hugh	1629	Worsley	Weaver
LRO WCW 1629 William Holland	HOLLAND William	1629	Ormskirk	Haberdasher
LRO WCW 1630 Stephen Radley	RADLEY Stephen	1630	Manchester	
LRO WCW 1633 James Hodgson	HODGSON James	1633	Huyton	
LRO WCW 1634 Richard Sankey	SANKEY Richard	1634	Ormskirk	Gentleman
LRO WCW 1634 Wm' Poole	POOLE William	1634	Ormskirk	Chapman
LRO WCW 1638 Geo Clarke	CLARKE George	1637	Manchester	Haberdasher
LRO WCW 1637 Anthony Holme	HOLME Anthony	1637	Manchester	Pointmaker
LRO WCW 1648 Timothy Hulme	HULME Timothy	1648	Manchester	Silkweaver
LRO WCW 1649 Richard Oldham	OLDHAM Richard	1649	Ashton under Lyne	
LRO WCW 1649 Lawrence Newall	NEWALL Lawrence	1649	Rochdale	Mercer
LRO WCW 1661 James Hamer	HAMER James	1659	Rochdale	Mercer
LRO WCW 1660 James Tildesley	TILDSLEY James	1659	Manchester	Mercer
LRO WCW 1661 John Burgess	BURGESS John	1661	Bolton	Grocer
LRO WCW 1662 Thomas Walkden	WALKDEN Thomas	1662	Blackburn	Chapman
LRO WCW 1665 Laurence Benson	BENSON Laurence	1665	Blackburne	
LRO WCW 1665 Edward Alcock	ALLCOCKE Edward	1665	Liverpool	
LRO WCW 1680 James Hinde	HINDE James	1680	Manchester	
LRO WCW 1680 Henry Arrowsmith	ARROWSMITH Henry	1680	Hale	Mercer
LRO WCW 1680 Richard Riddinges	RIDDINGES Richard	1680	Bury	
LRO WCW 1694 Thomas Tetlowe	TETLOW Thomas	1694	Oldham	
LRO WCW 1699 Richard Shaw	SHAW Richard	1699	Liverpool	Grocer
LRO WCW 1706 James Barrett	BARRETT James	1706	Manchester	Chapman
LRO WCW 1707 Thomas Rishton	RISHTON Thomas	1707	Chorley	Mercer
LRO WCW 1727 James Bolton	BOLTON James	1726	Bury	Mercer
LRO WCW 1737 William Dollas	DOLLAS William	1737	Wigan	Petty Chapman

## Warwickshire

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
LJRO 1543 Swynscoe	SWYNSCOE Agnes	1543	Coventry	Widow
LJRO 1551 Walton	WALTON Ralph	1551	Coventry	
LJRO 1551 Ganns	GANNIS Anthony	1551	Coventry	Mercer
LJRO 1563 Clark	CLARK Thomas	1563	Coventry	Mercer
LJRO 1579 Hurte	HURTE Elizabeth	1579	Coventry	Widow
LJRO 1580 Fitzherbert	FITZHERBERT Richard	1580	Coventry	Haberdasher
LJRO 1589 Bowlat	BOWLAT Arthur	1589	Coventry	Draper
LJRO 1599 Fynis	FYNIS	1599	Coventry	Mercer
LJRO 1604 Allen	ALLEN William	1604	Tamworth	Mercer
LJRO 1605 Haighton	HAIGHTON Edward	1605	Coventry	Silkweaver
LJRO 1637 Banister	BANISTER George	1637	Solihull	
LJRO 1670 Hanslapp	HANSLAPP Margery	1670	Southam	Widow
LJRO 1671 Freeman	FREEMAN Edward	1671	Birmingham	
LJRO 1676 Barnard	BARNARD Susanna	1676	Coventry	Widow
LJRO 1676 Billers	BILLERS Julius	1676	Coventry	Alderman
LJRO 1682 Coling	COLING Richard	1682	Coventry	Mercer
LJRO 1683 Lynell	LYNELL Richard	1683	Stafford	Mercer
LJRO 1683 Stoddard	STODDARD Anthony	1683	Newcastle	Tailor
LJRO 1684 Bate	BATE John	1684	Birmingham	Glover
LJRO 1684 Walton	WALTON John	1684	Baginton	Narrow weaver
LJRO 1684 Moore	MOORE John	1684	Uttoxeter	Chapman
LJRO 1685 Rowney	ROWNEY Mary	1685	Merriden	Widow
LJRO 1685 Meeke	MEEKE Elizabeth	1685	Darlaston	
LJRO 1685 Birge	BIRGE Joseph	1685	Hampton	
LJRO 1685 Haslehurst	HASLEHURST Henry	1685	Eckington	
LJRO 1685 Grimes	GRIMES Thomas	1685	Coventry	
LJRO 1685 Leigh	LEIGH John	1685	Tamworth	Mercer
LJRO 1686 Crofts	CROFTS Joane	1686	Coventry	Widow
LJRO 4686 Foster	FOSTER William	1686	Coventry	Bodicemaker
LJRO 1686 Gilbert	GILBERT Samuel	1686	Coventry	Shoemaker
LJRO 1687 Fentham	FENTHAM George	1687	Birmingham	
LJRO 1692 Fentham	FENTHAM Thomas	1692	Birmingham	Mercer
LJRO 1694 Healey	HEALEY Edward	1694	Atherstone	Ironmonger
LJRO 1712 Haw	HAW John	1712	Berkswell	

## Leicester

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
LRO Leics 38/169	PERKES Elizabeth	1636	Prestwold	Widow
LRO Leics 38/169	COCKES Elizabeth	1636	Prestwold	Widow
LRO Leics 40/350	DENT William	1638	Melton Mowbray	
LRO Leics 40/234	WIGHTMAN Jane	1638	Leicester	
LRO Leics 61/97	DONALDSON John	1663	Ashby d'l Zouch	Chapman
LRO Leics 61/80	DALE Joan	1663	Belton	
LRO Leics 62/54	BROKESBY Nemiah	1663	Leicester	Mercer
LRO Leics 65/14	ALMEY John	1666	Lutterworth	Mercer/chandler
LRO Leics 74/157	LAURENCE Richard	1673	Lutterworth	Gent
LRO Leics 74/101	BEARDSLEY Abraham	1673	Ashby d'l Zouch	Petty Chapman
LRO Leics 74/122	SEAGRAVE Elizabeth	1673	Ashby d'l Zouch	Widow
LRO Leics 82/224A	BARRODEL William	1680	Belton	Chandler
LRO Leics 101/14	BENTLEY William	1696	Leicester	Mercer
LRO Leics 101/111	PYM Thomas	1696	Melton Mowbray	
LRO Leics 12/150	GOADBY Samuel	1705	Ibstock	
LRO Leics 112/148	BROTHERHOOD Caleb	1705	Thornton	
LRO Leics 115/120	HOBSON Robert	1708	Leicester	
LRO Leics 115/106	BENTLEY Dorcas	1708	Leicester	Widow
LRO Leics 119/70	ILLIFE Anne	1724	Hinchley	
LRO Leics 119/71	WARREN Thomas	1724	Saddington	



## Hampshire

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
HRO 1581 B119/1-2	WHITE Edward	1581	Winchester	Mercer
HRO 1582 B26/2	DINGLER Thomas	1582	Southampton	Draper
HRO 1583	TWICE John	1583	Winchester	Grocer
HRO 1584 Ad58	RUDGE Thomas	1584	Newport Isle of Wight	Merchant
HRO 1586 A08/1-2	BEALD John	1587	Portsmouth	
HRO 1587 B 27/1-2	DENBY Hugh	1587	Winchester	Haberdasher
HRO 1592 A045/1-2	GLEVINS Jesse	1592	Newport Isle of Wight	
HRO 1593 Ad 103	WINDOVER William	1593	Romsey	Mercer
HRO 1597 A 032/1-2	EMERY Richard	1597	Winchester	Haberdasher
HRO 1601 B 51/1-7	SMALLPIECE Nicholas	1601	Guildford	Haberdasher
HRO 1603	PAICE John	1603	Winchester	Haberdasher in will
HRO 1604 Ad 53/1-2	STANLEY William	1604	Alton	Haberdasher
HRO 1605 A55/1-2	MARTYN Edward	1605	Winchester	Haberdasher
HRO 1609 A70/2	STEVENS Luke	1608	New Lymington	Mercer
HRO 1616 Ad 8	CASTLE Daniel	1616	Romsey	Mercer
HRO 1617 A97/1-2	WYATT John	1617	Petersfield.	
HRO 1618 Ad 03/1-2	BARNARD Nicholas	1618	Andover	Haberdasher
HRO 1618 B39/2	MAYER Robert	1618	Southampton	Linen draper
HRO 1618 Ad 50	MANSECK Thomas	1618	Andover	Chapman
HRO 1622 A69/1-2	VIBERT Lambert	1622	Winchester	
HRO 1624 A 75/2	STANLEY William	1624	Winchester	Haberdasher
HRO 1625 A042/1-2	GILES	1625	Hampshire	
HRO 1625 B63/1-2	SMALLPIECE James	1625	Guildford	Gentleman
HRO 1625 Ad 027	CHAPER Thomas	1625	Winchester	
HRO 1626 Ad31	COLE John	1626	Bishops Waltham	Mercer
HRO 1627 B 12/2	BULLOCHER John	1627	Southampton	Haberdasher
HRO 1630 A40/1-2	FOSTER Peter	1630	Andover	Haberdasher
HRO 1631 Ad106/1-2	WOODWARD Richard	1631	New Alresford	Mercer
HRO 1638 P20/1-3	NEWLAND William	1638	New Alresford	
HRO 1638 Ad120	JANBERNIS John	1638	No place	
HRO 1640 Ad 129	PRATT Edward	1640	Alton	Mercer
HRO 1648 A 35/1-2	HARBOTTLE Richard	1648	Portsmouth	Stocking seller
HRO 1661 A084/1-2	PECKE William	1661	Portsmouth	
HRO 1665 Ad078	READ John	1665	Newport Isle of Wight	Mercer
HRO 1667 B57/1-2	TOFTWOOD Ambrose	1667	Andover	Haberdasher
HRO 1670 B12/1-2	CASBERT Ralph	1670	Fordingbridge	
PRO 1671 PROB 4 21215	BUTLER Richard	1671	Basingstoke	Woollen draper
HRO 1672 B35/1-3	LEGG Thomas	1672	Newport Isle of Wight	Mercer
HRO 1674	PRICE John	1674	Yarmouth Isle of Wight	
HRO 1676 149/167	AYLWARD George	1676	Portsmouth	Haberdasher
PRO 1680 PROB 4 20943	JAMES Philip	1680	Portsmouth	Mercer
HRO 1680 A 55/2	HILL Thomas	1680	Southampton	Haberdasher

## West Sussex

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
WSRO 1632 Mutton	MUTTON, Anthony	1632	Rusper	
WSRO 1661 Deane	DEANE Walter	1661	Rudgwick	Mercer
WSRO 1677 Burrow	BURROW Thomas	1677	Tillington	Bodice maker
WSRO 1678 Vallor	VALLOR Thomas	1678	Harting	Mercer
WSRO 1679 Woodgate	WOODGATE Michael	1679	Horsham	Mercer
WSRO 1680 Rogers	ROGERS John	1680	Chichester	Glover
WSRO 1687 Waller	WALLER John	1687	Horsham	Feltmaker
WSRO 1691 Penfold	PENFOLD John	1691	Storrington	Mercer
WSRO 1692 Willson	WILLSON John	1692	Petworth	
WSRO 1706 Luck	LUCK Samuel	1706	Steyning	Mercer
WSRO 1710 Lintott	LINTOTT William	1710	Harting	
WSRO 1711 Stores	STORES Samuel	1711	Warbleton	
WSRO 1711 Bysshe	BYSSHE Thomas	1711	Petworth	Mercer
WSRO 1711 Slatter	SLATTER John	1711	Soumpting	Mercer
WSRO 1712 Levett	LEVETT, Thomas	1712	Petworth	Mercer
WSRO 1716 Allen	ALLEN Thomas	1716	Midhurst	Mercer
WSRO 1718 Woolison	WOOLLISON, Thomas	1718	Thatcham	Salesman
WSRO 1719 Horne	HORNE Thomas	1719	Arundel	Grocer
WSRO 1720 Newman	NEWMAN Henry	1720	Arundel	Shop keeper
WSRO 1729 Fulljames	FULLJAMES Edward	1729	Midhurst	Tallow chandler
WSRO 1735 Horne	HORNE Susan	1735	Arundel	Widow (Grocer)
WSRO 1737 Poate	POATE Mary	1737	Westbourne	Grocer
WSRO 1738 Gillham	GILLHAM Richard	1738	Arundel	Ironmonger & Joiner
WSRO 1748 Backshell	BACKSHELL, Thomas	1748	Broadway	
WSRO 1748 Ford	FORD Mary	1748	Westbourne	Widow (Shop keeper)
WSRO 1754 Boxall	BOXALL William	1754	Kirdford	Mercer
WSRO 1754 Peirce	PEIRCE Henry	1754	Harting	Tailor
WSRO 1757 Brown	BROWN Robert	1757	Petworth	Chapman
WSRO 1766 Johnson	JOHNSON Nathaniel	1766	Lancing	
WSRO 1769 Norman	NORMAN Henry	1769	Midhurst	

## London

Record Office Reference	Names	Date	Place	Title in inventory
MCI 28.70	ELDRED John	1610	London	
MCI 30.91	SKINNER Francis Bullocke	1611	London	
MCI 41.108	SHUGAR Arthur	1626	London	
CLRO MISC.INV.ROLL 62	CAREY William	1664	London	Haberdasher
CLRO MISC.INV.ROLL 320	GARDNER Thomas	1665	London	Mercer
CLRO ORPHANS 276	EARDLEY Richard	1665	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 280	VAUGHAN Thomas	1665	London	Barber surgeon
PROB4 21259	BOLDE Peter	1666	Lincs. & London	Servant
CLRO ORPHANS 511	ALSEABROOKE Henry	1667	London	
CLRO ORPHANS 347	BAMFORD Robert	1667	London	Cit. & merch't tailor
CLRO ORPHANS 334B	ASH Thomas	1667	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 215	ALLEN Herbert	1668	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 556	CHAPLIN Richard	1669	London	Haberdasher
CLRO MISC.INV.ROLL 631	CHAPMAN Nathaniel	1670	London	Draper
PROB4 7905	ORME Robert	1670	London	Cit. & haberdasher
CLRO MISC.INV.ROLL 694	CROW John	1671	London	Pewterer
CLRO ORPHANS 672	BAGNALL John	1671	London	Citizen and cutler
CLRO MISC.INV.ROLL 99	CLARKE Nicholas	1671	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 759	HUDSON William	1672	London	Citizen & skinner
CLRO ORPHANS 868	BARNABY Thomas	1673	London	Citizen & grocer
CLRO ORPHANS 927	CRITCHLOW John	1673	London	Cit. & cloth worker
CLRO MISC.INV.ROLL 889	COOTE Edward	1673	London	Leather seller
CLRO ORPHANS 950	BOLT Richard	1674	London	Grocer
CLRO ORPHANS 1082	DRAPER John	1674	London	Citizen & mercer
CLRO ORPHANS 988	GARRETT Richard	1674	London	Citizen & blacksmith
CLRO ORPHANS 982	CHANDLER Percival	1674	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 1308	CLAY Edmund	1675	London	Cit. & haberdasher
PROB5 3641	BRIGHTWELL Benjamin	1676	London	Merchant tailor
CLRO ORPHANS 1284	EATON John	1676	London	Citizen & vitner
CLRO ORPHANS 1593	BUTLER Adam	1679	London	
PROB5 1784	GREGORY Jacob,	1680	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 1790	CALCOTT George	1680	London	Haberdasher
PROB4	HUNSDON William	1689	London	Cit. & dyer
PROB4	HITCHCOCK Nicholas	1689	London	
PROB4	KNAPP Adam	1690	London	Haberdasher
CLRO ORPHANS 2119	AMBLER William	1690	London	Haberdasher

*Appendix 9*

**Table Of Apprentice Bindings. Register Book.**

**Guildhall Library Register Of Bindings 1708-1755 (M 15,850.8)**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>PARENTAL HOME</b>	<b>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</b>	<b>PLACE OF BINDING</b>
November 1708	Stony Stratford Berks	Chapman	Haberdashers Hall
November 1708	Bewdley Worcs	-	Smithfield Lane
February 1709	Ffenchurch	Yeoman	W- Lane
February 1709	-	Labourer	Haberdashers Hall
May 1709	Leather Lane London	Weaver	Haberdashers Hall
July 1709	Windsor Berks	Pastry cook	Covent Garden Hab. of Smallwares
July 1709	Milam Norfolk	Weaver	The Strand
July 1709	Elminster Somerset	Tallowhandler	Bucklersbury (+)
September 1709	Little Moorefields	-	Ffenchurch Street
September 1709	Newport Shropshire	Clerk	Milk Street
September 1709	Rotherhithe Surrey	Baker	Rotherhithe
September 1709	Cripplegate	Citizen & Haberdasher	Cripplegate (=)
October 1709	London	Gentleman	Aldergate Street (*) Hab. of Smallwares
October 1709	Asted Surrey	Bricklayer	Blackfriars
November 1709	City of Gloucester	Gentleman	Lombard Street (*) Haberdasher of hats
November 1709	Tong Middlesex	Gentleman	Holborn Bridge Hab. of Smallwares
December 1709	Puddle Dock	Jeweller	Southwark
January 1709/10	Cardford Sussex	-	London Bridge Hab. of Smallwares
March 1709/10	Rotherhithe Surrey	Mariner	-

All bindings were for seven years except for the two marked (\*) which were for eight years.

All the Masters were recorded as Haberdashers, except where noted. The record marked (+) was a woman Haberdasher.

The record marked (=) was a son apprenticed to his father.

# Illustrations



Fig. 1. Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book, 1521-1601  
NAL/V&A 147.B.63

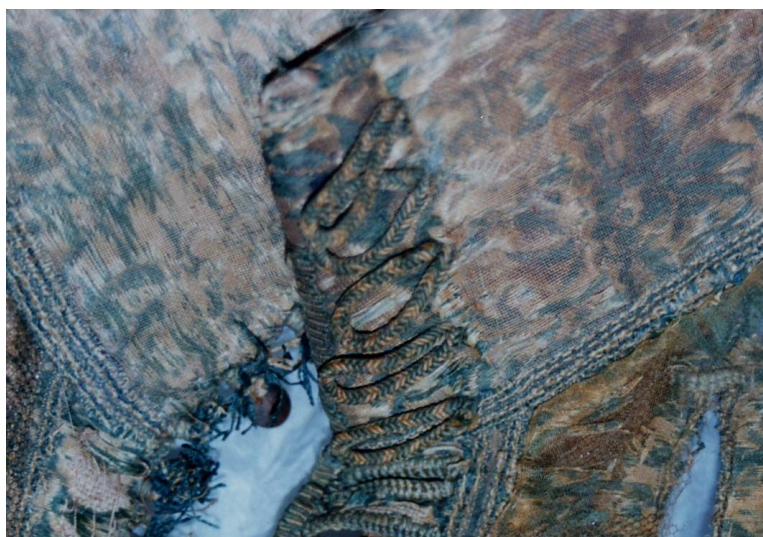


Fig. 2. Laces for fastening over buttons at doublet neck.  
V&A, 170-69



Fig.3 Fine cords, tasselled handkerchief and silver looped ribbons worn by Elizabeth Howard, Lady Banbury, c.1619. Daniel Mytens



Fig. 4 Anon. Instructions for Making Purse Strings, 1640,  
NAL/V&A 86.FF.3.





Fig. 5. Decorative points on male clothing.

John Granville 1676, by John Michael Wright



Fig. 6. Seventeenth century silk covered buttons with silk braid,  
made over a wooden mould. Victoria and Albert Museum



Fig. 7. Man's embroidered coat with 19 embroidered flower-pattern buttons  
Chilcombe House 1972.360



Fig. 8. Faceted glass decoration on man's corded velvet coat.  
Eighteenth century. Gunnersbury Museum, 74.44/IL



Fig. 9. Breeches button, stitched over wooden mould. c.1740.  
Bath Costume Museum





Fig. 10. Basket weave silver thread buttons on man's waistcoat. Killerton House, KIL/W/3605A



Fig.11. Decorated glove gauntlet, late sixteenth century. Note the tiny size of these early spangles. Bath Costume Museum, Spence Glove Collection, Ref. 23352



Fig. 12. Domed spangles, together with flat spangles and faceted glass decoration  
1780s. Bath Costume Museum.



Fig. 13. Man's cream silk coat with embroidery and pressed silk 'spangles'.  
Killerton House KIL/W/03782



Fig.14. Man's velvet coat with pressed silk domes. Victoria and Albert Costume Collection





Fig. 15. Skirt embroidered with seventeenth-century patterns. Dating unclear.  
Bath Museum of Costume.



Fig. 16. Man's linen shirt embroidered with red silk and having bobbin lace edgings.  
1615-25 Warwick Museum H6300



Fig. 17. Woman's coif embroidered with silk fish, having spangle eyes. Metallic braid edge decoration and embroidered loops at front. Lined ear-flaps. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon.



Fig. 18. Man's shoe. Fabric with stitched braid, edged with tape. Eighteenth century.  
Warwick Museum H.12222





Fig. 19. Silver thread embroidery on knitted silk stockings. Late seventeenth century.  
Killerton House KIL/W/05349

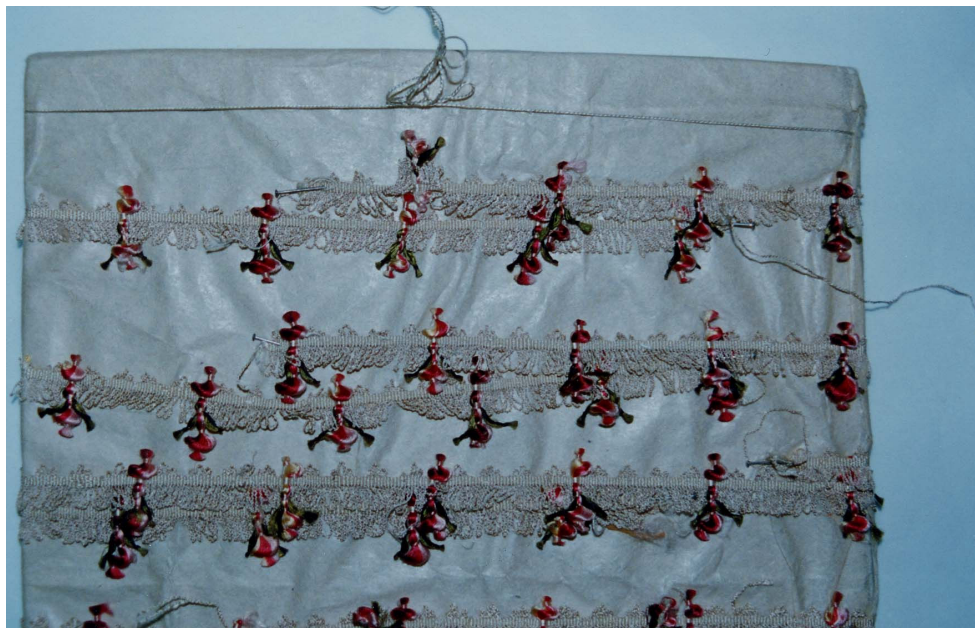


Fig. 20. Fringing with coloured floss silk tassels, c.1770-1780. Used extensively on a gown and stomacher. Chilcomb House, Winchester. C1976. 31/309/1-4



Fig. 21. Knitted silk stockings, mid-eighteenth century. Bath Museum of Costume.  
1720-50



Fig. 22. Shoes with matching pattens. Brocade with tape edge binding. c.1720.  
Killerton House KIL/W/04241





# Bibliography

## Primary Sources

*Birmingham Central Reference, Local Studies & History Department*  
Trading ephemera.

*British Library*

*British Museum, Prints and Drawings*  
Banks collection of trade cards and billheads.  
Heal collection of trade cards and billheads.

*Cumbria Record Office (Carlisle)*  
Probate records.  
Documents relating to Abraham Dent (Acc.1474) WDB/63/1-68

*Cheshire Record Office (Chester)*  
Probate records.

*Corporation of London Record Office (London)*  
Orphans inventories.

*Guildhall Library (London)*  
Prints.

*Devonshire Record Office (Exeter)*  
Probate Records.  
Diaries.

*Guildhall Library (London)*  
Manuscripts.  
Prints.

*Hampshire Record Office (Winchester)*  
Probate records.  
Diaries.

*Hampshire Record Office (Newport, Isle of Wight)*  
Probate Records.

*Institute of Historical Research (London)*  
*Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers 1620-1920*, (London: The Times publications, 1920).



*Lancashire Record Office (Preston)*

Probate records.

Diaries.

*Lichfield Joint Record Office (Lichfield)*

Probate records, regular series.

*Leicestershire Record Office (Leicester)*

Probate records.

*National Art Library (Victoria & Albert Museum)*

Manuscripts.

ANON, *Instructions for Making Purse Strings*, 1640, 86.FF.3

*The National Archives (formerly The Public Record Office) (London)*

P.C.C. Wills and inventories.

ANON, *Instructions for making laces*, untitled, hand written, P.R.O. Add. Ms. 6293.  
1651.

*Shropshire Records and Research (Shrewsbury)*

Attingham MSS (112/).

*West Sussex Record Office (Chichester)*

Probate records.

Diaries.

*Warwickshire Record Office (Warwick)*

Probate Records.

*Worcestershire and Herefordshire Record Office (Worcester)*

Probate records.

## Edited primary sources and books published before 1880

BANKS, A.M. (trans. & ed.), *The Diary of Julius Hardy, Buttonmaker of Birmingham, 1788-1793*. BCR/LSH: n.d.

BECK, *Drapers' Dictionary*, (London: 1886).

BLUNDELL, Nicholas, *The great diurnal of Nicholas Blundell of Little Crosby, Lancashire*, Tyrer, F., (ed.), 3 Volumes, (Liverpool: Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1968-72).

BORDE, A., *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, (London: 1542).

BUTLER, SAMUEL, *Houdibras*, (London: 1678).

BUTTERWORTH, E., *A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster*, (Lancaster: 1841).

BYRNE, Muriel St Clare (ed.) *The Lisle Letters*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin edition, 1985).

CAMDEN, *Magna Britannia*, 6 Volumes, (London. 1720).

CAMPBELL, R. *The Complete London Tradesman*, London, 1747. (Reprint), (Newton Abbot: 1969).

CHAPPELL, W., (ed.), *The Roxburgh Ballads*, 9 Vols., (London: The Ballad Society, 1869-99).

CHAUCER, G. (c. 1386), *The Canterbury Tales*, Hieatt, A. K. and C., (eds.), (London: Bantam Books, 1964).

.

CHAUCER, G., *Romaunt of the Rose*, (c.1386).

CLIFFORD, Lady Anne, *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, Clifford, D.J.H. (ed.), (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1990).

COLE, Rev. W., (ed.) Collected papers, *Matthew Stokys, Esquire Bedel, his book. c.1574* hand copied, Add. Ms.5845. circa 1773.

DEFOE, D., *The Complete English Tradesman*, (1726), paperback edition based on the 1839 edition, (Gloucester: 1987).

DEFOE, D., *The Complete English Tradesman*, Vol.1 (London: 1745).

DEFOE, D., *Everybody's Business: Nobody's Business*, (London: 1725)

DEFOE, D., *Tour through the whole Island of Great Britain*, ii, (London: 1966)

De LORRIS, Guillaume, and Jean De Meun, *Roman de la Rose*, 1, 91, (c.1230).

DIDEROT, Denis, *Encyclopedie ou Dictionnaire raisonne des Sciences, des Arts at des Metiers*, Vol.12, (Paris: 1765).

DIVES PRAGMATICUS, *A booke in Englyshe metre, of the great marchaunt man called Dives Pragmaticus*, (1563), (London: reproduced in facsimile, 1910).

ELAND, G. (ed.), *Purefoy Letters, 1735-1753*, Volume II, (London. 1931).

EVELYN, J., *Tyrannus Or the Mode*, London, 1661. Nevinson, J.L. (ed.), (Oxford: 1951).

FAIRHOLT, F.W (ed.), *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, London: Percy Society Publication, 1849).

FAIRHOLT, F.W., *Costume in England*, Vol. I, Revised edition, (London: 1885).

FAIRHOLT, F.W., *Costume in England*, Vol. II, H.A.Dillon (ed.) (London: fourth edition, 1896).

FAIRHOLT, F.W., (ed.) *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume*, (London: 1849).

FELL, S., *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell*, Penney, N. (ed.), (Cambridge: 1920).

FEUILLERAT, Albert (ed.), *Accounts Of The Master Of The Revels*, (Louvain: (n.p.) 1908).

FIENNES, C., *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes, c. 1682-c. 1712*, Morris, C. (ed.), (Exeter: Webb and Blower, 1982).

FISHER, Jabez Maud, *An American Quaker in the British Isles: the Travel Journals of Jabez Maud Fisher, 1775-1779*, Morgan, K., (ed.), (Oxford: 1992).

FITZMAURICE, Lord E., *Life of William, Earl of Shelbourne*, Vol.1, 1737-66, (London: 1875).

FURNIVALL, F.J. (ed.), Harrison's *Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth: Being the Second and Third Books of His Description of Britaine and England, Edited from the First Two Editions of Holinshed's Chronicle, AD 1577, 1587*, (London: 1878).

GRAY, F., *Papers and Diaries of a York Family, 1764-1839*, Gray, E. (ed.), (York: 1927).

GROSE, F., *Antiquities of England and Wales, 1773, 1774 & 1776*, 4 Volumes, (London: 1920).

HALLIWELL, J.O., *Ancient Inventories of Furniture, Pictures, Tapestries, Plate, etc. illustrative of the domestic Manner of the English in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century*, (London: 1854).

HERBERT, W., *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, (London: 1837)

HOLME, Randle, *Academy of armory, or a storehouse of armory and blazon*, Vol. 1, (Chester: for the author, 1688).

HOLME, Randle, *Academy of armory, or a storehouse of Armory and blazon*, Vol. II, edited by I.H.Jeayes, (London: Roxburghe Club, 1905).

HUTTON, W., *An History of Birmingham to the end of the year 1780*, (Birmingham: Grafton and Reddell, 1797).

J.F., *The Merchant's Warehouse Laid Open, or the Plain Dealing Linen Draper, showing how to buy all sorts of linens and Indian goods*, (London: 1695).

LISLE, *The Lisle Letters*, Byrne, Muriel St Clare (ed.), Boland, B. (selected by), (First edition 1981), (Harmondsworth: 1985).

LLANOVER, Lady (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs. Delaney, 1700*, 2 Volumes, (London: 1861).

LOWE, Roger, *The diary of Roger Lowe of Ashton in Makerfield, Lancashire, 1663-74*, Sachse, W.L., (ed.), (London, New York and Toronto: 1938).

MACKY, John, *A Journey Through England in Familiar Letters from A Gentleman Here to His Friend Abroad*, Three Volumes (first edition 1722), (London: 1732).

*Magna Britannia*, 6 vols. *Cambden's Topography with additions by an Impartial Hand*, Vol.II, Gloucestershire to Lincolnshire, (London: 1720).

MANDEVILLE, Bernard, *The Fable of the Bees*, [1714], (ed.) Phillip Harth, (New York: Penguin, 1970).

MASSINGER, P., *The Renegado*, (London: 1630).

MAWHOOD, W., *The Mawhood Diary: selections from the diary note-books of William Mawhood, woollen-draper of London, for the years 1764-1770*, Reynolds, E.E., (ed.), Catholic RS, 50. (London: 1956).

MORGAN, F.C., 'A Hereford Mercer's Inventory for the Year 1689',  
*Transcriptions of Woolhope Naturalist Club*, pp.187-199, Volume XXXI,  
(1942-45).

MORITZ, C.P., *Journeys of a German in England in 1782*, Nettel, R., (ed.), (London:  
1965).

NASH, Thomas, *Return from Parnass*, Part I, IV, (London: 1597).

PEPYS, S., *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Latham, R., Matthews, W., (eds.), (London.  
1985).

PERKINS, E.E., *A Treatise on haberdashery and hosiery with precise methods  
of calculation*, (London: 1834).

PICART, Monsieur B., *A New Drawing Book of Modes*. (London: n.d).

POSTLETHWAYT, M., *Britain's Commercial interest explained and improved  
in a series of dissertations on several important branches of her trade and  
police*. London. (1757), Two volumes. (Reprint), (New York: 1968).

PYNE, W.H., *Microcosm: or a Picturesque Delineation of the Art, Agriculture,  
Manufacture &c. of Great Britain. In a series above six Hundred Groups of  
Small Figures for the Embellishment of Landscape*. Reproduced in:  
*Picturesque Views of Rural Occupations in Early Nineteenth Century England*,  
(New York: 1977).

ROTHSTEIN, N., (ed.), *A lady of fashion: Barbara Johnson's album of styles  
and fabrics*, (London and New York: 1987).

ROUQUET, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, (London: c.1753).

R.P., [Resta Patching], *Four topographical letters written in July, 1755...from a  
gentleman of London to his brother and sister in town*. (1757).

SAVARY, Jacques, *A Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, Three Volumes, Postlethwayt, Malachy (tr.), (London: John Knapton, 1757).

SMITH, J., *Chronicon Rusticum-Commerciale, or Memoirs of Wool*, (Reprint), (New York: 1969).

SMITH, Sir Thomas, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, (1549), Lamond, E., (ed.), (Cambridge: 1954).

SPELMAN, K., *Antiquarian Booksellers Catalogue XXIII: Engraved Trade Cards & Printed Ephemera*, (London: 1992).

STOUT, W., *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752*, Marshall, J.D., (ed.), (New York: 1967).

STOW, J., *A Survey of London*. Reprinted from the text of 1603, Vol. II, (Oxford: 1908).

STRUTT, J., *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England from the Establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the Present Time*, 1st publ. 1796, 2nd edition: Planche, J. R., (ed.), (London: Bohn, 1842).

TAIT, J., (ed.), *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonym Cantuariensis, 1346-1367*, (Manchester: 1914).

TAYLOR, John, *The Needle's Excellency*, (London: 12<sup>th</sup> Edition, 1640).

THOMAS, A.H., (ed. Vols.I-IV) and P.E.Jones, (ed. vols. V-VI) *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls Preserved Among the Archives of the City of London, in 6 Volumes*. (London: 1926-61)

TOUR-LANDRY, Geoffroy de la, *The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry 1361, A Father's Book for his Daughters*. Wright, Thomas, (tr.), (London: Early English Text Society, 1868).

VAISEY, David, *The Diary of Thomas Turner, 1754-1765*, (Oxford: 1984).

VECELLIO, C., *Habiti Antichi e Moderni di diverse parti del Mondo*, Venice, 1590. Reprinted by Dover as *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book*, (New York, 1977).

VILLANI, G., *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, vii, Lib.12, (Florence: 1823).

WEATHERILL, L.M (ed.), *The Account Book of Richard Latham, 1724-1767*, (Oxford: 1991).

WHITE, P.L. (tr.) *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746-1799*, 3 Volumes, (New York: 1956).

WILLAN, T.S., *A Tudor Book of Rates*, (Manchester: 1962).

WILSON, J., *Projects*, iv, 264, (London: 1664).

WOODFORDE, J., *The Diary of a Country Parson, 1758-1802*, Beresford, J. (ed.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

YOUNG, A., *Tour through the North of England*, Volumes 1-4, (London: 1770).

## Secondary Sources

*Oxford English Dictionary*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, third edition, 1980).

*Stormonth's English Dictionary*, (London: 1904).

*Concise Oxford Atlas. Gazetteer of the British Isles*, (Oxford: 1961).



- ALBERT, L.S., and J. F. Adams, *The Button Sampler*, (New York: Barrows, 1951).
- ALCOCK, N.W., and N. Cox, *Living and Working in Seventeenth-Century England: Descriptions and Drawings from Randle Holme's Academy of Armory*, (London: British Library, 2000).
- ALLEN, D.E., 'Fashion as a Social Process', *Textile History*, 22/2, (1991), pp.347-58.
- ALPERS, S., *The Art of Describing*, (London: John Murray, 1983).
- ANDERSON, D.N., *Glasgow through the Looking Glass: History of a city seen through its costume*, (Milngavie: Heatherbank Press, 1982).
- ANTHONY, I., 'Clothing for a Late Sixteenth Century Servant in Wales', *Costume*, Vol. 14, (1980), pp.32-40.
- APPADURAI, Arjun, (ed.), *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- ARCHER, I.W., *The History of the Haberdashers Company*, (Chichester: Phillimore, 1991).
- ARNOLD, J., 'A Court Mantua of c.1760-5', *Costume*, Vol. 7, (1973), pp. 42-46.
- ARNOLD, J., 'A Court Mantua of c.1740', *Costume*, Vol. 6, (1972), pp. 48-52,
- ARNOLD, J., 'Decorative Features: Pinking, Snipping and Slashing', *Costume*, Vol. 9, (1975), pp.22-26.
- ARNOLD, J., 'Fashions in Miniature', *Costume*, Vol. 11, (1977), pp.45-55.
- ARNOLD, J., 'Jane Lambarde's Mantle', *Costume*, Vol. 14, (1980), pp.56-72.
- ARNOLD, J., 'A Mantua of 1708-9, Clive House Museum, Shrewsbury', *Costume*, Vol. 4, (1970), pp.26-31.
- ARNOLD, J., *Patterns of Fashion I, English women's dresses and their construction, 1660-1860*, (London: Macmillan, 1977).
- ARNOLD, J., *Patterns of Fashion: The cut and construction of clothes for men and women c1560-1620*, (London: Macmillan, 1985).
- ARNOLD, J., 'A Pink silk Domino c.1760-70 at the Victoria & Albert Museum', *Costume*, Vol. 3, (1969), pp.31-34.
- ARNOLD, Janet, 'The Dressmaker's Craft', *Strata of Society*, Costume Society Conference, (Norwich, Costume Society publication, 1973), pp.29-40.
- ARNOLD, J., and P. Anthony (eds), *Costume: A general bibliography*, (London: Costume Society, revised edition. 1977).

- ASHELFORD, J., *A Visual History of Costume in the Sixteenth Century*, (London: Batsford, 1983).
- ASHELFORD, J., *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I*, (London: Batsford, 1988).
- ASHTON, J., *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*, (1882), (Welwyn Garden City: Seven Dials Press, reprint, n.d.).
- ATTFIELD, J., *Wild things: the material culture of everyday life*, (Oxford: Berg, 2000).
- AUERBACH, E., *Tudor Artists, a study of painters in the royal service and of portraiture on illuminated documents from the accession of Henry VIII to the death of Elizabeth I*, (London: Athlone Press, 1954).
- BARNARD, M., *Fashion as Communication*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
- BARRELL, John, *The Political Theory of Painting from Reynolds to Hazlitt*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 1986).
- BAUMGARTEN, L., *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).
- BESLEY, I., and J. Vero, *Warwickshire Hatters*, (Halifax: Ryburn, 1989).
- BELL, C.R., 'Sumptuary Legislation and English Costume', *Costume*, Vol. 6, (1972), pp.22-31.
- BELL, Q., *On Human Finery*, (London: Allison and Busby, new edition, 1992).
- BENHAMOU, R., 'The Restraint of Excessive Apparel: England 1337-1604', *Dress*, Vol. 15, (1989), pp. 27-37.
- BENNETT, H. and C.Witt, *Eighteenth Century Women's Costume at Blaise Castle House*, (Bristol: Museum Publication, 1972).
- BENSON, J. and G. Shaw, *The Evolution of Retail Systems c.1800-1914*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).
- BENSON, J. and L. Ugolini, (eds), *The cultures of selling: perspectives on consumption and society since 1700*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).
- BERG, M., 'Technology and the Age of Manufacture: the Birmingham Toy Trades', *Workshop on New Perspectives in the History of Technology*, (Manchester: MUP, 1981).
- BERG, M., (ed.), 'Commerce and Creativity in Eighteenth Century Birmingham', Ch. 8 in *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe*, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.173.

BERG, M., *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

BERG, M. and H. Clifford, 'Commerce and the commodity: graphic display and selling new consumer goods in eighteenth-century England' in North, M., and D. Ormrod, *Art markets in Europe 1400-1800*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

BERG, M., and H. Clifford, (eds), *Consumers and luxury: Consumer culture in Europe 1650-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

BERGER, R.M., 'The Development of Retail Trade in Provincial England, c. 1550-1700', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40, (1980), pp.123-128.

*BERISFORDS - The Ribbon People*, (York: Company publication, 1966).

BETTEY, J.H., *Wessex from AD 1000*, (London: Longmans, 1986).

BIDDLE, M., (gen. ed.), *Medieval Winchester*, Vols I, II, and III, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

BOLAM, R., and M. Lomax, *Eliza's Babes: Four Centuries of Women's Poetry in English, c1500-1900*, (London: Bloodaxe, 2005).

BOUCH, C.M.L. and G.P. Jones, *A Short Economic history of The Lake Counties 1500-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961).

BOUCHER, Francois, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment*, (New York: H. M. Abrahams, expanded edition, 1967).

BOX, E.G., 'Hampshire in Early Maps and Early Road Books', *Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society; Papers & Proceedings*, Part 3, Vol. XII. (1934).

BRANDON, P. and B. Short, *The South East from AD 1000*, (London: Longmans, 1990).

BRAUDEL, F., *Civilisation and Capitalism*, Vol. I, 'The Structures of Everyday Life: The Limits of the Possible', (London: Collins, 1981).

BREEN, T., 'An Empire of Goods: the Anglicisation of colonial America, 1690-1776,' *Journal of British Studies*, xxv, October, (1986), pp. 467-99.

BREEN, T., ' "Baubles of Britain": the American and consumer revolutions of the eighteenth century,' *Past and Present*, cxix, May, (1988), pp.73-104.

BREEN, T.H. 'The Meaning of "Likeness": American Portrait Painting in an 18c Consumer Society', *World and Image*, Vol. vi, Oct-Dec, (1990), pp.325-50.

BREWER, J., and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1993).

- BREWARD, C., *The culture of fashion: A new history of fashionable dress*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
- BREWARD, C., 'Cultures, Identities: fashioning a cultural approach to dress,' *Fashion Theory*, 2, 4, December, (1998), pp.303- 305.
- BREWARD, C., *Fashioning London: Clothing and the Modern Metropolis*, (London: Berg, 2004)
- BREWARD, C., B. Conekin and C.Cox, (eds), *The Englishness of English Dress*, (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002).
- BRODSKY, Vivien, 'Widows in Late Elizabethan London: Remarriage, Economic Opportunity and Family Orientations', in Bonfield, R., R.M. Smith, and K.Wrightson, (eds), *The World We Have Gained*, (London: Basil Blackwell, 1986).
- BROBY-JOHANSON, R., *Body and Clothes*, (London: Faber, 1968).
- BROOKE, I., *Dress and Undress: Restoration and Eighteenth Century*, (London: Methuen, 1958).
- BROWN, David, ' "Persons of Infamous character" or "an honest industrious and useful description of people"? The textile pedlars of Alstonfield and the role of peddling in industrialization', *Textile History*, 31/1, (2000), pp. 1-26.
- BUCK, Anne, *Dress in Eighteenth Century England*, (London: Batsford, 1979).
- BUCK, A., 'The Countryman's Smocks', *Folk Life*, 1, (1963), pp.16-34.
- BUCK, A., 'Pamela's Clothes', *Costume*, Vol. 26, (1992), pp.21-31.
- BUCK, A., *Thomas Lester, his lace and the East Midlands industry 1820-1905*. (Bedford: Ruth Bean, 1981).
- BUCK, A., 'Variations in English Women's Dress in the Eighteenth Century', *Folk Life*, 9, (1971), pp.5-28.
- BUCK, A., 'The Dress of Domestic Servants in the Eighteenth Century,' in *Strata of Society, Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Conference of the Costume Society*, April 6-8, 1973, (London: V & A Museum Publication, 1974), pp.10-16.
- BUCK, A., 'Clothes in Fact and Fiction 1825-1865,' *Costume*, 17, (1983), pp.89-104.
- BURKE, J., *The Iconography of the Enlightenment in English Art*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970).
- BURMAN, B., and C. Turbin, 'Introduction: Material Strategies Engendered', *Gender & History*, 14/3 (2002).

- BYRDE, P., *The Male Image*, (London: Batsford, 1979).
- CAMPBELL, Colin, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).
- CARPENTER TURNER, B., *A History of Hampshire*, (London: Darwen Finlayson, 1963).
- CAULFEILD, S.F.A., and B.C. Saward, *The Dictionary of Needlework. An Encyclopedia of Artistic, Plain, and Fancy Needlework*. (1st publ.1885), (Exeter: Blaketon Hall, reprint 1989).
- CHALMERS, H., *Clothes on and off the Stage*, (New York and London: D. Appleton, 1930).
- CHANNING LINTHICUM, M., *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1972).
- CHAPMAN, D.L. and L.E. Dickey, 'A Study of Costume Through Art: An Analysis of Dutch Women's Costumes from 1600-1650', *Dress*, Vol. 16, (1990), pp.28-37.
- CHARTRES, J.A., *Internal trade in England*, Studies in economic and social history, (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977).
- CHARTRES, J. and Hey, D., (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- CHERRY, D. and A. Harris, 'Eighteenth Century Portraiture and the Seventeenth Century Past: Gainsborough and Van Dyke', *Art History*, Part 3, (1982), pp 287-309.
- CLABBURN, P., 'A Provincial Milliner's Shop in 1785', *Costume*, Vol. 11, (1977), pp.100-112.
- CLABBURN, P., 'The Costume Collection of Strangers' Hall Norwich', *Costume*, Vol. 3, (1969), pp.27-30.
- CLARK, A., *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, (1st publ. 1919), (London and New York: Routledge, 3rd edition, 1992).
- CLARK, Gaskin and Wilson, 'Population Estimates of English Small Towns, 1550-1851', *University of Leicester Working Paper No. 3*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1989).
- CLARK, P. and Slack, P., (eds), *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700*, (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1972).
- CLARK, P., (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, (London: Hutchinson, 1984).
- CLEMENT, C., *Legendary and Mythological Art*, (London: Bracken Books, 1994).

- CLIFFORD, D.J.H., *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, (Stroud: Allan Sutton Publishing, 1990).
- COLEMAN, D.C. and A.H. John, (eds), *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976).
- COLEMAN, D.C., 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: The 'New Draperies'', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, Vol. 22, (1969), pp.417-29.
- COLEMAN, D.C., *The British Paper Industry 1495-1860*, (Westport, Connecticut: 1975).
- COLLINS, L., *Silk Museums in Macclesfield*, (York: Museum publication, 1989).
- COPLEY, G.J., (ed.), *Camden's Britannia, Surrey and Sussex. From the edition of 1789 by Richard Gough*, (London: Hutchinson, 1977).
- CORNER, David, 'The Tyranny of Fashion: The Case of the Felt-Hatting Trade in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Textile History*, 22 (2), 153-178, 1991.
- COURT, W.H.B., *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600-1838*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938).
- COX, N., '“Beggary of the Nation”: Moral, Economic and Political Attitudes to the Retail Sector in the Early Modern Period', in Benson, J. and L. Ugolini, (eds), *A Nation of Shopkeepers: Five Centuries of British Retailing*, (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003). pp. 26-51.
- COX, N., *The Complete Tradesman: a Study of Retailing, 1550-1820*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).
- COX, N., 'The Distribution of retailing tradesmen in north Shropshire, 1660-1750', *Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, Vol.13, No.1, pp. 4-22.
- COX, N. and J., 'Probate Inventories – the legal background', Parts I & II, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 16, Nos 3 and 4, (1984), pp 133-145.
- COX, N. and J., 'Valuations in Probate Inventories', Parts I and II, *The Local Historian*, Vol. 16, No. 8, (1985), and Vol. 17. No. 2, (1986), pp. 217-228.
- COX, N.C., D.P. Hussey and G.J. Milne (eds), *The Gloucester Port Books on CD-ROM and the Guide and Tutorial*, (Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 1998).
- CRANE, D., *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: class, gender and identity in clothing*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
- CROWFOOT, E., F. Pritchard, and K. Staniland, *Medieval finds from excavations in London, c.1150-1450: 4, Textiles and Clothing*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1992).

- CUMMING, V., *A Visual History of Costume: The Seventeenth Century*, (London: Batsford, 1984).
- CUNNINGTON, C.W and P., *A Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century*, 3rd edition, (London: Faber, 1972).
- CUNNINGTON, C.W and P., *A Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, 3rd edition, (London: Faber, 1972).
- CUNNINGTON, C.W and P., *A Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century*, (London: Faber, 1954).
- CUNNINGTON, C.W and P., *A Handbook of English Mediaeval Costume*, (London: Faber, second edition, 1969).
- CUNNINGTON, C.W., *Women (Pleasures of Life Series)*, (London: 1950).
- CUNNINGTON, C.W., *Looking Over My Shoulder*, (London: Faber, 1961).
- CUNNINGTON, Phillis, and Catherine Lucas, *Charity Costumes, of children, scholars, almsfolk and pensioners*, (London: A. and C. Black, 1978).
- CUNNINGTON, Phillis, and Catherine Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England, From the 11th Century to 1914*, (London: A. and C. Black, 1967).
- DALE, T.C., *The Inhabitants of London in 1638*, Vol. I, (London: Society of Genealogists, 1931).
- DALTON, J., 'Fabrics and Thread in a Man's Coat of 1735', *Costume*, Vol. 11, (1977), pp.88-91.
- DAVIDOFF, L., and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, (London: Hutchinson, 1987).
- DAVIS, D., *A History of Shopping*, (London: Routledge, 1966).
- DAVIS, F., *Fashion, Culture and Identity*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- DAVIES, J. S., *A history of Southampton*, (first edition Southampton 1883), (Exeter: Blaketon Hall, reprint 1989).
- DE LA HAYE, Amy, and Elizabeth Wilson, *Defining Dress: dress as object, meaning and identity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).
- DE LISLE, L., *After Elizabeth: How James, King of Scots won the Crown of England in 1603*, (London: HarperCollins, 2004).
- DE MARLY, Diana, *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History*, (London: Batsford, 1989).

DOUGLAS, Audrey W., 'Cotton Textiles in England: the East India Company's Attempt to Exploit Developments in Fashion 1660-1721', *Journal of British Studies*, 8, 2, (1969), pp.28-43.

DOUGLAS, M. and B. Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin edition, 1980).

DRUITT, S., 'The Will of Jane Youngs of Burley in the County of Southampton', *Costume*, Vol. 11, (1977), pp.113-117.

DYER, C., *Everyday life in Medieval England*, (London: Hambledon, 1994).

EARLE, Peter, *The making of the English middle class: business society and family life in London 1660-1730*, (London: Methuen, 1989).

EGAN, G. and F. Pritchard, *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 3, Dress Accessories. 1150-1450*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1991).

ELTON, G. R., *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

EPSTEIN, D. and M. Safro, *Buttons*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

EVERITT, Alan, 'Change in the Provinces: the Seventeenth Century,' *Dept. of English Local History Occasional Papers*, Second Series, 1. (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1969).

EVERITT, Alan, 'Country, County and Town: Patterns of Regional Evolution in England', in P. Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town, A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820*, (London: Longmans, 1990), pp.83-115.

EVERSLEY, D.C., *Victoria County History of Warwickshire*, Vol. vii, 'Industry and Trade', (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965).

EWING, E., *Everyday Dress 1650-1900*, (London: Batsford, 1984).

FAIRHOLT, F.W., *Costume of England*, Vol. I, revised and edited by H.A. Dillon, (London: Bell, Fourth edition, 1896).

FAWCETT, T., 'Bath's Georgian Warehouses', *Costume*, Vol. 26, (1992), pp.32-39.

FELTWELL, J., *The Story of Silk*, (Stroud: Sutton, 1991).

FISHER, F.J., *Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961).

FISHER, F.J., *London and the English Economy, 1500-1700*, Corfield, P.J., and N.B.Harte (eds), (London: Hambledon, 1990).



- FLETCHER, A., *A County Community in Peace and War: Sussex 1600-1660*, (London and New York: Longmans, 1975).  
Forge Mill Needle Museum information booklet, Needle Mill Lane, Redditch (Worcester: Museum publication, 2003).
- FOWKE, F.R., *The Bayeux Tapestry: A History and Description*, (London: Bell and Sons, 1913).
- FRENCH, H.R. '“Ingenious & learned gentlemen”: social perceptions and self-fashioning among parish élites in Essex, 1680-1740', *Social History*, 25/1, (2000), pp. 44-66.
- GEORGE, M. Dorothy, *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin edition, 1976).
- GILL, C., *History of Birmingham*, Vol. I, 'Manor and borough to 1865' (Oxford University Press for Birmingham City Council: 1952-74).
- GINSBURG, M., 'Rags to Riches: The Second Hand Clothes Trade 1700-1978' *Costume*, Vol. 24, (1990), pp.121-135.
- GINSBURG, Madeline B., 'A Young Girl's Inventory - Jenny Scholes of Manchester, 1746-1768', *Papers presented to Passold Conference*, June 1991, (London: Passold publication, 1992).
- GINSBURG, M., 'The Tailoring and Dressmaking Trades, 1700-1850', *Costume*, Vol. 6, (1972), pp.64-71.
- GOMBRICH, E.H., *The Sense of Order: a study of the Psychology of Decorative Art*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1979).
- GOODERSON, P.J., *A History of Lancashire*, (London: Batsford, 1980).
- GOUK, P., Newsletter Editor and Director, *The Achievement Project Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No.1, Spring, (1995).
- GRAVES, J., 'Symbol, Pattern and the Unconscious: The Search for Meaning' in Schoeser, M. and C. Boydell, *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), pp.45-53.
- GRAYLING, A. C., *The mystery of things*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2004).
- HALL, J., *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, (London: John Murray, 1989).
- HAMILTON, P., 'John Taylor' in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Matthew, H.C.G., and B.H Harrison (eds), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- HAMILTON, P., 'Abraham Dent' in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Matthew H.C.G., and B.H Harrison (eds), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

HARDING, Vanessa, 'Communicating London's Early History', *Urban History*, 20, 2, October, (1993), pp.225-232.

HARRISON, G.B., *English Life in English Literature: England in Shakespeare's Day*, (London: Methuen, second edition, 1949).

HARTE, N.B. and K. Ponting, (eds), *Textile History and Economic History. Essays in Honour of Miss Julia De Lacy Mann*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973).

HARTE, N.B., 'State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-industrial England', in Coleman, D.C., and John, A.H., (eds), *Trade, government and economy in pre-industrial England*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), pp.132-65.

HARTE, N.B., book review, *Textile History*, Vol. 7, (1976), p.198.

HASKELL, F., *Past and Present in Art and Taste*, (London: Yale University Press, 1987).

HATCHER, J., and C. Barker, *A history of British pewter*, (London and New York: Longmans, 1974).

HEAL, A., *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century*, (First publ.1925), (New York: Dover reprint, 1968).

HEAL, A., *The Signboards of Old London Shops: A Review of the Shop Signs employed by the London Tradesmen during the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries*, (first edition, 1957), (London: Portman reprint, 1988).

HEAL, Felicity, 'The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 102, February, (1984), pp.66-93.

HECHT, J. J., *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth Century England*, (London: 1956).

HENSHALL, A.S., and S. Maxwell, 'Clothing and other articles from a late 17<sup>th</sup> century grave at Gunnister, Shetland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol.LXXXVI, (1951-52), pp.30-42.

HERBERT, W., *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies*, (London: William Herbert, 1837).

HILL, C., *The Century of Revolution, 1603 – 1714*, (Walton on Thames: Nelson, second edition, 1980).

HILL, C., *The World Turned Upside Down*, (London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd., 1972).

- HIND, A.M., *Engraving in England, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, Part I, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).
- HIND, A.M., *Engraving in England, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century*, Part III, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952, 1964).
- HOLLANDER, A., *Seeing Through Clothes*, (Berkeley and London: 1978).
- HOLLAR, W., 'The Four Seasons', Introduction by Nevinson, J.L., *Costume Society Extra Series*, No.6, (King's Lynn: 1979).
- HOLLOWAY, J., and J. Black (eds), *Later English Broadside Ballads*, (London: Routledge, 1975).
- HOLT, E., *The Triumph of Art for the Public 1785-1848, the emerging role of exhibitions and critics*, (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983).
- HOLT, Richard, 'The Early History of the Town of Birmingham, 1160-1600', *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers*, 30, (Oxford: Dugdale Society, 1985).
- HOPKINS, E., *Birmingham, the first marketing town in the world, 1760-1840*, (London: 1989).
- HOUART, V., *Buttons, A Collector's Guide*, (London: Souvenir Press, 1977).
- HUGHES, Diane O., 'Representing the Family: Portraits and Purposes in Early Modern History', in R.I. Rotberg, and Rabb, T.K. (eds), *Art and History. Images and Their Meaning*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp 7-28.
- HUNT, J., *Pinmakers to the World: the Newey Group*, (Company publication: 1989).
- HUNT, M.R., *The middling sort: commerce, gender, and the family in England, 1680- 1780*, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1996).
- HUSSEY, D.P., G.J. Milne, A.P. Wakelin and M.D.G. Wanklyn, (eds), *A summary of the trade of the Severn, the Gloucester coastal port books, 1575-1765*, (Dudley: School of Humanities and Social Science, University of Wolverhampton, 1995).
- HUTTON, W., *An History of Birmingham*, 2nd edition, (Birmingham: EP Publication, reprint 1976).
- JARVIS, A., *Liverpool Fashion: its makers and wearers; the dressmaking trade in Liverpool, 1830-1940* (Liverpool: Merseyside County Museums publication, 1981).
- JAKOBSON, Roman, *Selected Writings, II, Word and Language*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).
- JONES, A. R., and P. Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

JONES, G.P., 'The Poverty of Cumberland and Westmorland', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series, xiv, (1955), pp.198-208.

JONES, B.C., 'Westmorland pack-horse men in Southampton,' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, New Series lix (1960), pp. 65-84.

JOSEPH, F., *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, (Camb.Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).

KERRIDGE, E., 'Wool growing and wool textiles in medieval and modern times', in *The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain*, (ed.), J. Geraint Jenkins, (London: 1972).

KEYNON, G.H., 'Petworth Town and Trades, 1610-1760', *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xcvi (1958), pp.35-107; xcvi, (1959), pp.71-117; xcix, (1961), pp.102-148.

KING, M., *European Textiles in the Keir Collection, 400BC-1800 AD*, (London: Faber, 1990).

KOHLER, C., *A History of Costume*, (ed.), E. von Sichart, (New York: Dover reprint, 1963).

KOWALESKI-WALLACE, E., *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping and Business in the Eighteenth Century*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

KUSAMITSU, Toshio, ' "Novelty, give us novelty": London agents and Northern Manufacturers', in M. Berg, (ed.), *Markets and Manufacture in Early Industrial Europe*, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.114-138.

KUTCHTA, D.M., ' "Graceful, Virile and Useful": The Origins of the Three Piece Suit', *Dress*, Vol. 20, (1990), pp.118-126.

KYBALOVA, Ludmila, and others, *The Pictorial Encyclopaedia of Fashion*, (London: Hamlyn, 1968).

LANE, P., 'Women's Initiatives in Early Modern England' in *The Achievement Project Newsletter*, Vol.4, No.1, Spring (1995).

LASLETT, Peter, 'Size and Structure of the Household in England Over Three Centuries', *Population Studies*, xxiii, (1969), pp.199-223.

LAVER, J., *A Concise History of Costume*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969).

LAVER, J., *Costume*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963).

LAVER, J., *Costume in Antiquity*, (London: Thames and Hudson, paperback edition, 1964).

LAVER, J., *The Literature of Fashion*, (Cambridge: National Book League exhibition catalogue, 1947).

LAVER, J., (ed.), *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Costume*, (London: V. & A. Museum publication, 1969).

LEMIRE, B., 'Consumerism in pre-industrial and early industrial England: the trade in secondhand clothes', *Journal of British Studies*, 27, 1, (1988), pp.1-24.

LEMIRE, B., *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

LEMIRE, B., Introduction to colloquium on textile history: 'Popular Consumption and the Mass Market', *Material History Bulletin*, No. 31, Spring (1990), pp.1- 4.

LEMIRE, B., 'Peddling Fashion: Salesmen, Pawnbrokers, Tailors, Thieves and the Second-hand clothes trade in England c.1700-1800', *Textile History*, Vol. 22, (1991), pp.67-82.

LEMIRE, B., 'Second-hand beaux and "red-armed Belles": conflict and the creations of fashions in England c1660-1800', *Community and Change*, 15, 3, (2000), pp.391-417.

LEMIRE, B., 'Developing Consumerism and the Ready-made Clothing Trade in Britain, 1750-1800,' *Textile History*, 15, 1, (1984), pp. 21-44.

LEVEY, M., *Painting at Court*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971).

LEVEY, S., *Lace: A History*, (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1983).

LEWIS, J., *Printed Ephemera: The changing use of type and letterforms in English and American Printing*, (London: Faber, 1969).

LINDERT, P., 'English Occupations, 1670-1811', *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 40 (1980), pp.685-712.

LISTER, M., *Costume: An illustrated survey from ancient times to the twentieth century*, (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1967).

LONGMAN, E.D. and S. Loch, *Pins and Pincushions*, (London: Longmans, 1911).

LOTHIAN, J.M., and T.W. Craik (eds), *William Shakespeare: Twelfth Night*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

LOWERSON, J., *A Short History of Sussex*, (Folkestone: Dawson, 1980).

LURIE, A., *The Language of Clothes*, (London: revised edition, 1981).

LUSCOMB, S.C., *The Collector's Encyclopaedia of Buttons*, (Surrey: Brushwood Press, fourth edition, 1999).

- LYNES, A., *A History of Coventry Textiles*, (private publ., n.d.).
- MACTAGGART, P. and A., 'The Rich Wearing Apparel of Richard 3rd Earl of Dorset', *Costume*, Vol. 14, (1980), pp.41-55.
- MARSCHNER, J., 'Men of Trades and Sellers of Wares', *Costume*, Vol. 18, (1984), pp.29-34.
- MARSHALL, J.D., (ed.), *The Autobiography of William Stout of Lancaster, 1665-1752*, (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967).
- MARSHALL, J.D., *Furness and the Industrial Revolution: an economic history of Furness 1711-1900*, (Beckermest: Michael Moon, 1958).
- MARSHALL, R.K., 'Conscience and Costume in Seventeenth Century Scotland', *Costume*, Vol. 6, (1972), pp.32-35.
- MAXWELL, S., 'Two Eighteenth Century Tailors', *Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions*, (1972), pp.3-29.
- MAYHEW, H., *London Labour and the London Poor*, 3, (first edition, London: Griffin, Bohn 1861), (London: F.Cass, enlarged edition, 1967).
- MCCORD, N., and R. Thompson, *The Northern Counties from AD 1000*, (London: Longmans, 1998).
- McCRACKEN, G., 'Textile History and the Consumer Epidemic: An Anthropological Approach to Popular Consumption and the Mass Market', *Material History Bulletin*, No. 31, Spring, (1990).
- McCRACKEN, G., *Culture and Consumption, New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*, (Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990).
- McKENDRICK, N., J. Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of A Consumer Society*, (London: Europa Publications, 1982).
- MELDRUM, T., 'Skilled Women and Gendered Economy of Early Modern England' in *The Achievement Project Newsletter*, Vol. 4, No.1, Spring (1995).
- MILLER, J., 'The Study of Dress and Textiles' in H. Conway, (ed.), *Design History – a students' handbook*, (London, 1987), p.15.
- MILLER, L. E., 'Education and the Silk Designer: A Model for Success?' in Schoeser, M. and C. Boydell, *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002).
- MOORE, D.L., *The Woman in Fashion*, (London: Batsford, 1949).

- MUI, H. and Mui, L.H., *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England*, (London: Routledge, 1989).
- NEUBECKER, Otfried, *A Guide to Heraldry*, (London: Cassell, 1981).
- NEVINSON, J.L., 'Buttons & Buttonholes in the Fourteenth Century', *Costume*, Vol. 11, (1977), pp.38-44.
- NEVINSON, J.L., 'Men's Costume in the Isham Collection', *Connoisseur*, Vol. XCIV, November, (1934), pp.313-320.
- NEVINSON, J.L., 'Origin and Early History of the Fashion Plate', *United States Museum Bulletin*, Vol. 250, (Washington D.C., 1967), pp.65-91.
- NEVINSON, J.L., 'Fashion Plates and Fashion, 1625-1636', *Apollo*, Vol. 51, (1950), pp.138-140.
- NEVINSON, J.L., 'The 'Mercury Gallant', or European Fashions in the 1670s', *The Connoisseur*, Vol. 136, (1955), pp.87-91.
- NEVINSON, J.L., 'Vogue of the Vandyke Dress', *Country Life Annual*, (1959), pp.25-27.
- NEWTON, S.M., *Health, Art and Reason: dress reformers of the nineteenth century*, (London: John Murray, 1974).
- NEWTON, S. M., *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A Study of the years 1340-1365*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1980).
- NEWTON, S. M., 'Fashions in Fashion History', *Times Literary Supplement*, March 21, (1975).
- NICHOLS, J., *History and antiquities of the County of Leicester*, (Leicester: 1793).
- OVERTON, M., *Bibliography of British Probate Inventories*, (Newcastle-upon Tyne: Dept. of Geography, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne), 1983.
- PARKER, R., *The Subversive Stitch: embroidery and the making of the feminine*, (London: Women's Press, 1984).
- PASTON, G., *Social Caricature in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Methuen, 1905).
- PEARL, V., 'Change and stability in seventeenth-century London', in Barry, J., (ed.), *The Tudor and Stuart Town*, (London: Longmans, 1990).
- PEARS, Iain, *The Discovery of Painting: the growth of interest in the Arts in England, 1680-1768*, (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

PARTRIDGE, E., (ed.), *Penguin Dictionary of Historical Slang*, (London: 1972).

*Per Una Storia Della Moda Pronta - problemi e ricerche*, International Convention C.I.S.S.T., Milan, Feb.26-8, (1990). [Edifir Edizioni Firenze s.r.l. 1991]

Papers as follows:

PARMAL, P.A., 'A Dress Unrolled. A Pre-embroidered 1860s Dress Length.'

WILCKENS, L. von, 'Clothing for the Court: the Sixteenth Century Example of Munich.'

RIBEIRO, A., 'Provision of Ready-Made and Second-Hand Clothing in the Eighteenth Century in England.'

LEMIRE, B., 'The Nature of the Second-Hand Clothes Trade: the Role of Popular Fashion and Demand in England, c.1700-1850).'

MORTIER, B.M. du, 'Introduction to the Used-Clothing Market in the Netherlands.'

KJELLBERG, A., 'Knitting and the Use of Knitted Goods in Norway before 1700.'

CHAPMAN, S.D., 'Ready Made Fashion: a Historical Profile of the U.K. Clothing Industry.'

LEVITT, S., 'Bristol Clothing Trades and Exports in the Georgian Period.'

ZANDER SEIDEL, J., 'Ready-to -Wear Clothing in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: New Ready-Made Garments and Second-Hand Clothes Trade.'

ARNOLD, J., 'Smocks, Shirts, Falling Bands and Mantuas: Evidence of Loosely-Fitting Garments and Neckwear produced for the Ready-to-Wear Market, c. 1560-1700.'

TIETZEL, B., 'Pandora's Box.'

PHILLIPS, C.B. and J.H. Smith, *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD 1000*, (London: Longmans, 1994).

PHILLIPS, J., *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

POINTON, M., 'Portrait-Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s', *Art History*, Vol. 7, No.2, June (1984), pp.187-205.

POINTON, M., *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).



POINTON, M., *Strategies for Showing: Women, Possession, and Representation in English Visual Culture 1665-1800*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

PONSONBY, M., 'Forming a New Concept of Home: How Consumption of Textiles Contributed to Homemaking Between 1760 and 1850' in Schoeser, M. and C. Boydell, (eds), *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), pp.57-66.

POWER, E., *Medieval People*, (London: the Folio Society, 1999).

PRIESTLY, U., *The Fabric of Stuffs: The Norwich Textile Industry from 1565*, (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, 1990).

PROWN, J.D., 'Mind in Matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method,' *Winterthur Portfolio*, 17, (1982), pp.197-210.

PUCKLE, B., *Funeral Customs, origins and development*, (London: 1926).

PYE, N., *Leicester and its Region*, The Local Committee for the British Association. (Leicester: Leicester University Press: 1972).

REDFORD, A., *Labour migration in England, 1800-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1926).

REYNOLDS, Sir J., *Discourses on Art*; (ed.) R. R. Wark, Based on edition of 1797, (San Marino, California: Huntington Library Publication, 1959).

RIBEIRO, A., 'The Exotic Diversion; the dress worn at Masquerades in eighteenth-century London', *Connoisseur*, 791/Jan, Vol. CXCVII, (1978), pp 3-13.

RIBEIRO, A., *A Visual History of Costume: the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Batsford, 1983).

RIBEIRO, A., *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England 1730-1790, and Its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture*, (New York and London: Garland, 1984).

RIBEIRO, A., *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe 1715-1789*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002).

RIBEIRO, A., *Dress and Morality*, (London: Batsford, 1986; second edition Berg: 2003).

RIBEIRO, A., *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2005).

RIELLO, G., *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century*, Pasold Studies in Textile History Series No 5, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

- RILEY, A., *Chronicles of London*, (London: n.d.).
- ROCHE, D., *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, (1989), (trans. Jean Birrell), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- ROE, F.G., 'Prints and Tinsel', *Connoisseur*, Vol. 89, (1932), pp.302-313.
- ROLLINS, J.G., *Needlemaking*, (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1981).
- ROTBERG, R., and T. Rabb (eds), *Art & History: Images and their Meanings*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- ROTHSTEIN, N., (ed.), *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, (London: V & A, in association with Collins, revised edition, 1984).
- ROTHSTEIN, N., conference report, *Textile History*, 14 /2 (1983), pp. 223-226.
- ROTHSTEIN, N., *Silk designs of the Eighteenth Century: in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990).
- ROTHSTEIN, N., *Spitalfields Silks*, (London: H.M.S.O., 1975).
- ROWLANDS, M.B., *Masters and Men*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975).
- ROWLANDS, M.B., *A History of Industry in Birmingham*, (Birmingham: City of Birmingham Education Dept., 1977).
- ROWLANDS, M.B., *The West Midlands from A.D. 1000*, (London: Longmans, 1987).
- ROWSE, A.L., *The England of Elizabeth*, (London: The Reprint Society, 1950).
- ROYALTON-KISCH, M., *Adriaen van de Venne's Album*, (London: British Museum publication, 1988).
- RUDOLFSKY, B., *The Unfashionable Human Body*, (London: Hart-Davis, 1972).
- SANDERSON, E., 'Edinburgh Milliners, 1720-1820,' *Costume*, Vol. 20, (1986), pp. 18-18.
- SARGENTSON, C., *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (London: Victoria and Albert Museum in association with the J.Paul Getty Museum, California, 1996).
- SATCHEL, J.E., Glover, J.M., Ryder, M.L., Taylor, G.W. and Garland, H.E., 'The Kendall Pattern Book', *Textile History*, Vol. 21 (2), (1990), pp.223-243.
- SCHAMA, S., *The Embarrassment of Riches: An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*, (London: Collins, 1987).

SCHOESER, M., *Printed Handkerchiefs*, (London: Museum of London publication, 1988).

SCHOESER, M., 'The Mystery of the Printed Handkerchief,' in Schoeser, M. and C. Boydell, *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), pp 13-22.

SHAKESPEARE, W., *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, (Oxford: Oxford Standard Authors Edition, 1962).

SHAMMAS, C., *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

SHAWE-TAYLOR, D., *The Georgians, Eighteenth Century portraiture and Society*, (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990).

SHESGREEN, S., *The Criers and Hawkers of London: Engravings and Drawings by Marcellus Laroon*, (Aldershot: Scolar, 1991).

SIMPSON, A., 'Thomas Cullum, draper 1587-1664', *Economic History Review*, 2nd Series, xi, (1958-9), pp. 34-40.

SLATER, T., *A History of Warwickshire*, (London & Chichester: Phillimore, 1981).

SMART, A., 'Dramatic gesture and expression in the age of Hogarth and Reynolds', *Apollo*, Part 42, Vol. LXXXII, 8 (1965), pp.90-97.

SMART MARTIN, A., 'Makers, Buyers and Users – consumerism as a material culture framework', *Winterthur Portfolio*, 28, 2/4, Summer/Autumn (1993), pp. 142-143.

SMITH, A., *The Wealth of Nations*, Books I-III, (London: Penguin Classics, 1986).

SPEICER, N., (ed.), *Roman de la Rose*. (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983).

SPUFFORD, M., *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: petty chapmen and their wares in the seventeenth century*, History Series Vol. 33 (London: Hambledon Press, 1984).

SPUFFORD, M., 'The limitations of the probate inventory', in J. Chartres and D. Hey (eds), *English Rural Society 1500-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

SPUFFORD, M., *Small books and pleasant histories: popular fiction and its readership in seventeenth century England*, (Cambridge, Past and Present Publications, Cambridge University Press, paperback edition, 1985).

SQUIRE, Geoffrey, *Dress, Art and Society 1560-1970*, (London: Studio Vista, 1974).

STANLEY, E.G., 'Directions for making many sorts of laces', in B. Rowland, (ed.), *Chaucer and Middle English Studies*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1974).

STERN, E., 'Peckover & Gallyard, Two Sixteenth Century Norfolk Tailors', *Costume*, 25, (1995), pp.13-23.

STEEDMAN, C., 'Englishness, Clothes and Little Things,' in C. Breward, B. Conekin and C. Cox, (eds), *The Englishness of English Dress*, (Oxford and New York: 2002), pp.29-43.

STRONG, R., 'Charles I's clothes for the years 1633-1635', *Costume*, Vol. 14, (1980), pp.73-89.

STRONG, Sir Roy, *The Elizabethan Image*, (London: Tate Gallery Exhibition Catalogue, 1969).

STRONG, Sir Roy, 'Introduction' in N. Rothstein (ed.), *Four Hundred Years of Fashion*, (London: V & A, in association with Collins, revised edition, 1984).

STRONG, Sir Roy, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, (London: National Portrait Gallery publication, 1969).

STYLES, J., 'Clothing the North: The supply of Non-Elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile History*, 25/2, (1994), pp.139-66.

STYLES, J., 'Manufacturing, consumption and design in eighteenth century England', in Brewer, J., and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993). pp. 527-54.

STYLES, J., 'Product innovation in early modern London', *Past and Present*, 168/1, (2000), pp. 124-69.

STYLES, J., 'Dress in History: reflections on a contested terrain', *Fashion Theory*, 2, 4, (1998).

SUTTON, A. F., 'Order and fashion in clothes: The King, his household, and the City of London at the end of the fifteenth century', *Textile History*, 22 (2), (1991).

SWAIN, M., *The Needlework of Mary Queen of Scots*, (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold, 1973).

TARRANT, N., *The Development of Costume*, (Edinburgh and London: 1996).

TARRANT, N., 'Lord Sheffield's Banyan', *Costume*, Vol. 11, (1977), pp. 92-97.

TAYLOR, L., 'De-coding the Hierarchy of Fashion Textiles' in Schoeser, M. and C. Boydell, *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), pp. 67-80.

TAYLOR, L., *The Study of Dress History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).

TAYLOR, L., *Establishing Dress History*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

THIRSK, J., (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, Vols. 5 & 6, 1984).

THIRSK, J., *Economic Policy and Projects: the Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

THIRSK, J., 'The Fantastical Folly of Fashion: the English Stocking-Knitting Industry, 1500-1700', in N.B. Harte and K.G. Ponting (eds), *Textile History and Economic History: essays in honour of Miss Julia de Lacy Mann*, (Manchester: 1973), pp.50-73.

THIRSK, J., 'Popular Consumption and the Mass Market in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries', *Material History Bulletin*, No. 31, Spring (1990).

THIRSK, J., and J.P. Cooper, *Seventeenth-century economic documents*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972).

THORNTON, P., *Seventeenth-century interior decoration in England, France and Holland*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for studies in British Art, 1978).

TIMMINS, G., 'Economic History, Design History and Textiles: Approaches to Reassembling the Disentangled,' *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, Schoeser, M., and C. Boydell, (eds), (London: Middlesex University Press, 2002), pp. 209-216.

TIMMINS, S., *The Resources, Products and Industrial History of Birmingham and the Midland Hardware District*, (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1866).

TOZER, J., 'Cunnington's Interpretation of Dress', *Costume*, Vol. 20, (1986), pp.1-17.

TREVELYAN, G.M., *Illustrated English Social History*, Vol. I, Chaucer's England and the Early Tudors; Vol. II, The Age of Shakespeare and the Stuart Period; Vol. III, The Eighteenth Century; Vol. IV, The nineteenth century and the Industrial Revolution, (Harmondsworth: Pelican paperback edition, 1964).

TRINDER, B. and Cox, J., (eds), *Yeomen and Colliers in Telford; probate inventories for Dawley, Lilleshall, Wellington and Wrockwardine*, (Chichester: Phillimore, 1980).

UNWIN, G., *The Guilds and Companies of London*, (London: 1908).

UPTON, C., *A History of Birmingham*, (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993).

- VANIER, H., 'Marriage Trousseaux of the Common People in the Eighteenth Century', *Costume*, Vol. 3, (1969), pp.14-1.
- VEBLEN, T., *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949).
- VERGO, P., (ed.), *The New Museology*, (London: Reaktion Books, 1989).
- VICKERY, A., 'Women and the world of goods: a Lancashire consumer and her possessions, 1751-81', in Brewer, J., and R. Porter (eds), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 274-301.
- VICKERY, A., *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, paperback edition, 2003).
- Victoria County History, Hampshire*, Vols. ii, iii, iv, & v, (Oxford: 1903, 1908, 1911, 1912).
- Victoria County History, The City of Coventry and the Borough of Warwick*, Vol. viii, (Oxford. 1969).
- VIGARELLO, G., *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
- Von BOEHN, M., *Modes and Manners*, Vol.1, (London: 1932).
- WALKER, R.B., 'Advertising in London Newspapers, 1650-1750,' *Business History*, Vol. XV, 1, January (1973), pp.112-130.
- WALLER, M., *1700: Scenes from London Life*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2000).
- WALSH, C., 'The Retailing Industry', in Mokyr, J., (ed. in chief), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History*, Vol. 4, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp.368-371.
- WANKLYN, M., (ed.), *Inventories from Worcestershire Landed Gentry, 1537-1786*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, Vol.16, (1998).
- WAUGH, N., *The Cut of Men's Clothes, 1600-1900*, (London: Faber, 1964).
- WAUGH, N., *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1968).
- WEATHERILL, L.M., 'The Account Book of Richard Latham, 1724-1767', *Records of Social and Economic History*, New Series XV, (New York: 1990).
- WEATHERILL, L., *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, (London: Routledge, 1988).

- WEISS, F., 'Bejewelled Fur Tippets and the Palatine Fashion,' *Costume*, Vol. 4, (1970), pp.37-43.
- WHITE, D.P., 'The Birmingham Button Industry', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, II, (1977), pp. 67-79.
- WHITE, R.J., *Life in Regency England*, English Life Series, P. Quennell, (ed.), (London: Batsford, 1963).
- WILCOX, C., (ed.) *Radical Fashion*, (London: Victoria and Albert Museum publication, 2001).
- WILLAN, T.S., *An eighteenth-century shopkeeper: Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970).
- WILLAN, T.S., *Elizabethan Manchester*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1980).
- WILLAN, T.S., *The Inland Trade: Studies in English internal trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976).
- WILLIAMS, E.N., *Life in Georgian England*, English Life Series (ed.) P. Quennell, (London: Batsford, 1967).
- WILSON, E., *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*, (London: Virago, 1985).
- WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, (first edition London: 1792), (Harmondsworth: Penguin reprint, 1978).
- WOODALL, J., 'An Exemplary Consort: Antonis Mor's Portrait of Mary Tudor', *Art History*, Vol. 14, No.2, June, (1991), pp.192-224.
- WRIGHTSON, K., *English Society, 1580-1680*, (London: Hutchinson, 1982).
- ZYLSTRA-ZWEENS, H.M., 'Of his array telle I no lenger tale': *Aspects of Costume, Arms and Armour in Western Europe, 1200-1400*, (Amsterdam: 1988).

## Unpublished dissertations

- COX, N., 'Retailing and Consumption 1550-1800: an Analytical and Methodological Approach', PhD thesis (by publication), University of Wolverhampton, (2001).
- CLARK, S., 'Confraternities: A Study of Religious Guilds in Fifteenth-Century England with Specific Reference to Gilds in Coventry, Lichfield and Stratford-upon-Avon', unpublished M.A. dissertation, University of Warwick, (1992).

DUGGAN, M. L., 'Urban Change in a Lancashire Market Town: Ormskirk 1660-1800', unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University, (1992).

HAMILTON, P., 'Revolution in Consumption? Haberdashery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', unpublished B.A. dissertation, University of Wolverhampton, (1991).

ROTHSTEIN, N., 'The silk industry in London, 1702-1766', unpublished MA thesis, University of London, (1961).

STEADMAN, J.O., ' "A very indifferent small city" The economy of Carlisle, 1550-1700', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, (1988).



# Costume Collections and Art Galleries:

## References and Acknowledgements

Collections where I was welcomed, assisted, and kindly granted permission to photograph examples were: The Museum of Fashion and Dress, Bath; Blaise Castle House Museum, Bristol; Killerton House, Exeter; Hartlebury House, Hereford and Worcester County Museum; Gunnersbury Park Museum, Gunnersbury, London; The Department of Textiles and Dress, Victoria & Albert Museum, London; Osterley Park, London; Platt Hall, Manchester; St. John's House, Warwick; Chilcomb House, Winchester. I would like to extend my grateful thanks to the many curators and their assistants.

Similarly it was deemed advantageous to undertake some initial examination of contemporary visual sources. Examples of sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century images were examined at the following Art Galleries: Birmingham, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Manchester, and Wolverhampton, and in London at The Tate, the National and the National Portrait Galleries. Museums included: in London, The Victoria and Albert, The British Museum, and Museum of London; also Rangers House, Greenwich; Gunnersbury Park Museum; The Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood, Hampstead; and Hampton Court Palace. Further valuable visits were made to stately houses in Hampshire namely 'The Vyne' and Polesden Lacy; also to Haberdashers Hall, London and the Silk Museum, Macclesfield. Microfilm collections of the British Library and Museum prints collection were also consulted, so too were the compilations of works in the National Art Library at the V. & A. Specific appropriate exhibitions were attended, including: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Etchings and Drawings of the Common People, Rembrandt, Wright of Derby, The 'Swagger' Portrait, and Allan Ramsay.